Magic and Witchcraft in English Drama and Poetry from 1558 to 1634.

Roberts, G. J

ROBERTS

MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

IN ENGLISH DRAMA

AND POETRY

FROM 1558 TO 1634

MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

IN ENGLISH DRAMA

AND POETRY

FROM 1558 TO 1634.

G J ROBERTS

LONDON

1976

Introduction

> These Metaphysicks of Magitians,
> And Negromantick bookes are heavenly.
> Lines, Circles, Signes, Letters, and Characters,
> Marlowe, Faustus, i.76-78

> Knowing I lov'd my books, he furnish'd me
> From mine owne library with volumes that
> I prize above my dukedom.
> Shakespeare, The Tempest, I.ii.166-168

> Is there not charms
> By which the property of youth and maidhood
> May be abus'd? Have you not read, Roderigo,
> Of some such thing?
> Shakespeare, Othello, I.i.172-175

This study attempts a consideration of magic and witchcraft in English poetry and drama 1558-1634. It is divided into two parts. The first part examines the sources of material on magic available in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and suggests specifically which sources particular poets and dramatists had read. The second part of the study examines three themes, magic and anti-Catholic sentiment, magic and love, and magic and illusion, as they manifest themselves in the literature of the period. This approach suggested itself in contrast to the usual method of examining magic in Tudor and Stuart plays, that of categorising the magical operators. There are, I suggest, drawbacks to the latter method. It tends to provide more information about magic than literature. It sometimes imposes modern categories such as "sorceress", "white magician" or "black magician", or conversely imposes inapplicable and unhelpful categories such as "theurgist" or "goetist" on dramatic characters. It may be true to the sense intended by particular critics to denote, for example, the witch Sycorax in The Tempest as either a "black witch" or a "goetist", but these

descriptions provide no further information about her.

The first part of this study attempts to state precisely which books and texts the playwrights had read. Not only can this approach identify sources, it can also explicate particular passages in plays and poems. The chapters in the second part suggested themselves because of the frequency with which magic occurs in association with ideas about anti-Catholicism, love and illusion in literary works. Although magical sources will not be so assiduously pursued in this second part, detailed references to magical ideas will still be made. Such references, it is submitted, again illuminate particular passages in plays and poems thus leading to a better understanding of the whole work.

Three major studies of the place of magic in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have been published. Robert H. West's The Invisible World (Georgia, 1939) is the most detailed. It offers a study of "pneumatology" in the plays of the reigns of Elizabeth and James. The work deals with the appearance of ghosts and demons as well as witches and magicians. Mr West's study is erudite and refers to an extensive corpus of "pneumatological" treatises written both on the Continent and in England. If it has a fault it is a tendency to place magical operators in rigid categories and to apply some theories of magic too strictly to the plays. It is also one of the studies which gives rather more information about magic than literature.

Pale Hecate's Team (1962) by K.M. Briggs examines the "belief in magic and witchcraft of Shakespeare, his contemporaries and his immediate successors". Miss Briggs' study covers works belonging to the years subsequent to the period

considered in my examination. Pale Hecate's Team notes the occurence of magical beliefs in drama, poetry and prose. The book reveals that Miss Briggs' interests are mainly those of a folk-lorist, and she is fond of citing parallels from folk-tradition. It reveals Miss Briggs' learning in the field of folk-lore and presents literary illustrations of those magical beliefs she notices. There are drawbacks to Miss Briggs' approach. Her insistence on folk-belief, I would suggest, is not the most direct route to an understanding of the literature. The argument of the present study is that printed works available in England in the period offer the most illuminating approach. At best the study of folk-lore in relation to magical belief as manifested in contemporary literature is an ancillary pursuit. Miss Briggs sometimes confuses categories of information. The possible dangers of her statement that printed accounts of witch-trials accurately reflect popular belief are suggested in Part I. Similarly a categorisation of the incident of the deflection of the amatory charm in Newes from Scotland as a popular counter-charm[1] is shown to be perilous in the same section.

The Occult on the Tudor and Stuart Stage (Boston, 1965) by Robert R. Reed Jnr is a study of of the appearance of supernatural characters on the stage in the Tudor and Stuart periods. This means that the work deals with ghosts, fairies and devils as well as witches and sorcerers. He notes that more than seventy plays in his selected period contain supernatural happenings. As I do not offer any comments on ghosts, fairies and demons, I offer no criticism of Mr Reed's treatment of these supernatural beings. With due respect to Mr Reed, I find his study vague and imprecise. The book often contents itself with recounting the plots of the plays and

---

1. This is the implicit suggestion of Miss Briggs. Pale Hecate's Team, p.26.

impressionistic comments. The mass of material available on magic and witchcraft in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even in secondary sources, is seldom referred to. Two chapters on the development of magical ideas fail to convince. There are inaccuracies,[1] which I mention not with the intention of carping at isolated erroneous minutiae, but as indicative of a general imprecision in Mr Reed's work. Neither do I believe that G.B. Gardner's Witchcraft Today (1954), mentioned by Mr Reed on page 81, to be a reliable authority on the development of witchcraft in England.

Having offered criticism of three studies of magic in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in all fairness I must admit the limitations of my own approach. The attention to detail and close reading of plays and poems has meant that some works are not represented in this study. I would defend the omission of plays involving devils, alchemy and astrology as they do not come within the terms of my title. On the other hand I regret the omission of such plays as Lyly's Mother Bombie and Heywood's The Wise Woman of Hogsdon, and The Merry Devil of Edmonton and The Birth of Merlin in the Shakespeare Apocrypha. A treatment of both plays and poems in a study of this length has meant that some material has had to be sacrificed. I submit that the fact that it has been the plays that have received the greater part of critical attention in studies of magic and literature licenses this study sometimes to examine poems at the expense of some plays.

For magical material I have almost always gone back to primary sources. However, secondary sources have been invaluable as guides as to where this

---

1. For example, Mr Reed seems to think that the shepherd Alphesiboeus in Virgil, Eclogues, VIII is "a love-sick sorceress". The Occult on the Tudor and Stuart Stage, p.63.

material is to be found. Keith Thomas' Religion and the Decline of Magic (1971) has provided innumerable references to magical treatises and has also provided a concept of the beliefs held in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If I have not cited this work more often it is because of the contention of this thesis that the plays and poems are best understood by referring to specific primary texts. I suggest in Part I that many ideas in plays and poems are to be found in treatises and not in popular belief. This distinction in itself would have been impossible without Mr Thomas' work. The bibliography indicates my debt to other writers on the history of magic and witch-craft.

Detailed documentation from varied sources proved a minor problem. I have used large Roman numerals for references to books in treatises and small Roman numerals for chapter references. The exception to this rule is William Perkins, A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft. Perkins subdivides his chapters into "sections", so in the case of this work the large Roman numerals refer to chapters. All references to the plays of Shakespeare are to Peter Alexander's edition. In the case of classical texts I have used the Loeb edition.

Contents

Introduction		i-v
Part I. Sources		
	Introduction	1-9
(1)	The Bible	10-20
(2)	Works on diabolic possession	21-30
(3)	Classical sources	31-66
(4)	The writings of Agrippa and Peter of Abano	67-88
(5)	Witchcraft treatises and accounts of trials	89-123
Part II		
1.	Magic and anti-Catholic sentiment	124-186
2.	Magic and love	187-251
3.	Magic and illusion	252-310
Conclusion		311-314
Bibliography		315-332

PART ONE

SOURCES

> There are three only meanes & places to prove any thing, yea although it seeme altogether incredible, which three thinges be these: Aucthoritie of men, experience of the thing, & reason founded upon upright judgement of mynd, which places wil all confirme our opinion, not one only, although one were sufficient. And first as touching authoritie, there are playne and evident testimonies to be gathered out of holy scriptures, and also out of other aucthours, most evidently confirming, that there are such kindes of witches in the world, which we cal divelish sorcerers.
>
> Lambert Daneau, A Dialogue of Witches (1575), C8

This is the declaration of Theophilus, the spokesman of orthodox belief and the instructor of Anthony, in the 1575 English translation of Daneau's De Veneficis, quos olim Sortilegos, nunc autem vulgo Sortiarios vocant, dialogus (Geneva, 1574). Daneau's work is the earliest systematic account of witchcraft available in English in the period under consideration. Anthony has all the qualities of a good listener in a dialogical discourse on witchcraft, a form used later by George Gifford in A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraftes (1593), and King James in his Daemonologie (Edinburgh, 1597). Anthony professes eagerness to learn what he ought to believe on the subject. He engagingly expresses himself slow of understanding and has a discriminating and proper curiosity, for he only wants to know of these matters "after a modest sort". He asks the right intelligent questions (What is the distinction between a miracle and a wonder? But what about Nebuchadnezzar?), rewardingly interjects expressions of conviction (I understand now Theophilus) and horror (I tremble and shake, how do you know all this?), and ends with hearty thanks for his instruction.

At the beginning of Chapter II Theophilus displays for the edification of Anthony the means of proof available for displaying the existence and nature of witchcraft. In spite of Theophilus' inclusion of "experience of the thing, & reason founded upon upright judgment of mynd",

we hear little of either. The essence of the instruction is appeal to written authority. The Bible is the primary means of proof and Theophilus had already in Chapter I pre-empted the discussion by adopting a technique that was popular with later English treatise-writers, that of explaining exegetically the eight Hebrew words for "witch" in the Old Testament. The Bible is followed by the writings of the Fathers, instances from classical literature and repeated stories of various kinds. It is this appeal to written authority that characterises the writings and indeed the thinking on magic in the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries.[1] Indeed as late as the 1680s we find a treatise entitled A Discourse proving by Scripture and Reason and the best Authors, Ancient and Modern, That there are Witches (1686). A rationalist like Reginald Scot, aware that he is going against the received opinions of the Doctors of the Church, poets, historiographers, Jews, Christians and Gentiles,[2] is forced to the technique of discrediting various authorities. The Continental Catholic writers were fairly easy targets for ridicule, but Scot can only produce different exegeses on Biblical texts and not dismiss them out of hand. He is prepared to go to some lengths to retain the integrity of Augustine's authority and can quote him with relish when Augustine calls believers in some of the activities of witches fools and blockheads,[3] but Scot has to confess that Augustine is a little too credulous in some of his writings, although Scot hopes that the dubious passages are popish interpolations.[4]

Given the centrality of written authority in the treatises, there is some variation in the credence

---

1. For a discussion of the use of authorities by Continental writers, see Wayne Shumaker, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance, pp.73-78.
2. Reginald Scot, The Discoverie of Witchcraft (1584), II.x, p.35.
3. ibid., III.xvii, p.68.
4. ibid., V.iii, p.96.

that the writers give to the various kinds of texts. The Bible is always either the foundation or touch-stone of the argument. Witchcraft is an abomination to God and there are Biblical evidences of its existence in Pharaoh's magicians, the Witch of Endor, Simon Magus, Elymas the sorcerer and the "Pythonissa" in the Acts of the Apostles.[1] Daneau will give no old wives' tales (or so he claims), only what is in the Word of God. He will keep to it and therefore not depart into darkness.[2] George Gifford promises to keep to the Scriptures for testimony and proof.[3] Let God's Word be the judge of our discussions.[4] We have the testimony of the Word that there are witches.[5] Such declarations are the commonplaces of the treatises. The Hebrew words for "witch" are analysed repeatedly. The story of the Witch of Endor is examined in minute detail, usually with the conclusion that the "ghost of Samuel" was an impersonating demon. Pharaoh's magicians are usually the basis of a distinction between a miracle and a wonder. Writers with Puritan inclinations use the Bible to the exclusion of any other authorities, and James Mason's The Anatomie of Sorcerie (1612) consists entirely of an extended exegesis of Acts XIX vv.11-16.

Classical authorities are used by the writers with variable degrees of discrimination. Cornelius Agrippa, determined to reclaim the sacred art of high magic from notoriety, is predisposed to accept the writings of classical authors as proof of the efficacy of the arts he describes. Men may

> command the Elements, drive away Fogs, raise the winds, cause rain, cure diseases, raise the dead, all which things to have been done amongst diverse Nations, Poets and Historians do sing and relate:
>
> De Occulta Philosophia
> (English translation by J.F., 1651)
> III.vi, p.357

---

1. Henry Holland, A Treatise against Witchcraft (Cambridge, 1590), A3.
2. A Dialogue of Witches (1575), A3-A3v.
3. A Discourse of the Subtill Practises of Devilles (1587), B2.
4. Gifford, A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraftes (1593), B4v.
5. Thomas Cooper, The Mystery of Witch-craft (1617), I.ii, pp.25-26.

Daneau cites Horace, Homer, Ovid, Virgil and Lucan as authorities for the existence of witchcraft. Ludwig Lavater and Pierre Le Loyer, whose treatises appeared in translation in 1572 and 1605 respectively, devote early chapters of their works on spirits and apparitions to an examination of spirits reported by classical antiquity. Holland can quote Catullus as an authority for the view that no one can be a magician unless he is the relative of one.[1] William Perkins says that modern witches are the same as they were in the days of Circe and the Sirens.[2] Some writers harboured suspicions of classical antiquity and, as has been mentioned, Puritans tended to rely solely on the Bible. Scot takes the blunt view that "Miranda canunt sed non credenda poetae",[3] and that poets cannot be trusted on these matters. Alexander Roberts at first seems to be agreeing with this type of discrimination, but then recollects that the poets were reflecting the experiences of their times.

> But because the reports of these may seeme to carry small credit, for that they come from Poets, who are stained with the note of licentious faining, and so put off as vaine fictions; yet seeing they deliver nothing herein but that which was well knowne and usuall in those times wherein they lived, they are not slightly, and upon an imagined conceit, to be rejected: for they affirme no more then is manifest in the records of most approved Histories,...
>
> A Treatise of Witchcraft (1616), p.9

This brief indication of some of the sources used by the treatise-writers has been attempted in order to suggest the essentially literary nature of the discussions of witchcraft printed in the period. Commentators on the poetry and drama often seem to assume wrongly that the poets and dramatists are reflecting either the belief or practice of their

---

1. A Treatise against Witchcraft (1590), L4.
2. A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft (Cambridge, 1608), vii, p.197.
3. Discoverie (1584), I.iv, pp.10-11.

time. They make the same assumption as Alexander Roberts, that the poets "deliver nothing herein but that which was well knowne and usuall in those times wherein they lived", when the poets are usually drawing on treatises which are in turn remote authorities. To say, for example, that Middleton draws from life is analogous to saying that Apuleius, Roberts' "historiographer", is drawing from experience. Apuleius is obviously often borrowing from Lucan.[1] If in A Midsummer Night's Dream Shakespeare was using passages from Scot's Discoverie, as Bullough suggests,[2] he would have found stories and arguments on transformations in which Scot is using Jean Bodin, who was appealing to the Malleus Maleficarum's citation of Thomas Aquinas, who was referring to Augustine who cited Apuleius. If we turn to the evidence available from English witch-trials, although we find occasional references to a popular belief in the ability of witches to change themselves into animals, there is no evidence of a belief that they could transform others.[3] Bullen, in commenting on Middleton's The Witch (and incidentally using an authority of his own in Dyce), although noting that Middleton is using material from Scot's Discoverie, goes out of his way to relate Middleton's description of the witches making the flying-ointment (the detailed recipe for which is certainly from Scot), to incidents in the trial of the Lancashire Witches in 1612.[4] But there are several criticisms possible to such an approach. In the first place one would have to take issue with Bullen if he thought that Scot and the Lancashire trial afforded the same sort of area of reference. Scot confesses that he found the recipe for the flying-ointment in Giovanni Baptista Neapolitanus, so Middleton's play is already two removes from "actual practice" and we have discovered that the source nearer to it was Italian. Investigation of Neapolitanus reveals that he

---

1. Compare, for example, The Golden Ass (Loeb edition, 1919), pp.78-83 with Lucan, The Civil War, VI.531-568.
2. G. Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, Vol.I, pp.372-373, 401-404.
3. See C. L'Estrange Ewen, Witchcraft and Demonianism, pp.85-86.
4. The Works of Thomas Middleton, Vol.V, p.367.

had only heard of the practice and that his experiments with the ointment proved it inefficacious.[1] More exactly, he refers to the account by Thomas Potts, The Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster (1613), which as a matter of fact post-dates Middleton's play. But even in a trial-account are we actually getting an accurate account of what the witches did? Unless credence is given to the power of witches to lame, kill and feed devils, obviously not. Further, are we even getting an account of what the witches thought they did? The asking of loaded questions was not confined to the Inquisition. Lancashire is also peculiar in its reputation as a pocket of resistance to the reformed religion, and night-flying is typical of Continental beliefs rather than insular ideas of witchcraft. Justifiable suspicion is permissible as the Lancashire trial contains the first reference to night-flying and the unguent in an English case. Nature, or rather Potts' account of nature can even imitate art. Another piece of evidence used in the trial, the tale of the hare lying in wait and demanding the Sacrament from a boy on his way home from church,[2] is at once untypical of English trials and closely resembles a tale in the Malleus Maleficarum.[3]

Again with reference to The Witch, Bertil Johansson makes the same kind of error in his Religion and Superstition in the plays of Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton (Essays and Studies in English Language and Literature. No.7, Upsala, 1950).

> As regards "the wiles, and turnes" of the witches, however, Jonson's and Middleton's hags perform just what the Elizabethans expected them to do.
>
> Johansson, p.282.

This statement begs several questions. Which Elizabethans? Again taking the specific case of the flying-ointment in The Witch, Scot, Middleton's immediate source, certainly did not expect that witches could

---

1. Le Loyer, A Treatise of Specters (English translation by Z. Jones, 1605), xii, f.124.
2. Potts, Wonderfull Discoverie (1613), H3.
3. English translation by Montague Summers (1928), Pt.II, quaestio 1, cap.5.

fly and says that he would worship them as gods if they could.[1] Investigation of the topic reveals that Henry Holland did not grant the unguent any efficacy,[2] and that King James is guarded on the subject of transvection.[3] As to the English witches themselves, on the negative evidence of trials up to the date of The Witch, it is doubtful whether they knew anything about this spectacular Continental practice.

H.N. Paul's study, The Royal Play of Macbeth (New York, 1950), insists that Shakespeare is giving a picture of contemporary witches.

> The play depicts three Scotch witches of the Jacobean variety and nothing else.
>
> Paul, p.193

This is in spite of the fact that Paul recognises that the cauldron scene owes much to Seneca and Ovid, and that Shakespeare would have read in Holinshed the conjecture that the Weird Sisters might have been the Fates. To modify Paul's statement, what Shakespeare is partly giving is a picture of witches as described in the King's Daemonologie and the pamphlet account of the witches of Berwick, Newes from Scotland (Edinburgh 1591). To pursue the sources of the Daemonologie, the study of which (as far as I know) has never been undertaken, would take this discussion out of its way, but the King's delight in speaking "scholastically" must owe much to Continental treatises in subject-matter and form. Newes from Scotland provides another example of nature imitating art. The Scottish sorcerer Dr Fian was accused, if we believe the pamphlet, of attempting to procure a girl's love by wrapping clippings of her pubic hair in a magical paper. Fortunately her mother knew of the plan and substituted a few hairs from a heifer which then came frisking towards the Doctor.[4] This story is so similar to one in The Golden Ass[5] that one is forced to suppose a knowledge of Apuleius, either direct (perhaps in Adlington's translation), or through an intermediary source, on the part of Dr Fian or his accusers or the

1. Discoverie, II.ix, p.33.
2. Treatise (1590), ii, F2.
3. Daemonologie, ed. G.B. Harrison, II.iv. pp.38-39
4. Newes from Scotland, ed. Harrison, pp.21-23
5. Loeb edition, pp.122-127.

pamphleteer.

This does not mean that playwrights and poets do not sometimes refer to the common currency of beliefs in magic. References to folk-beliefs, sometimes self-explanatory, such as witches having no power to harm during the season of Christ's birth, as in Hamlet, I.i.157-164, or the numerous references in plays to witches having beards, are the province of the expert in folk-tradition, rather than the preoccupation of this study. Extended or detailed references are however more likely to have a literary source than to be a matter of common knowledge. It is necessary to be careful in ascribing to a writer an expression of common belief or knowledge when so often there is a specific source for the material he is using. Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that plays like Marlowe's Faustus and Middleton's The Witch provided many playgoers with ideas of magic and witchcraft that were new to them. In view of Norman Cohn's study, Europe's Inner Demons (1975), which argues strongly for the formulation of mediaeval Continental witch-beliefs ~~caused~~ by written repetition of theories, stories and beliefs, rather than by experience of witchcraft, a historical study of aspects of witchcraft based on literary texts and their transmission might yield surprising results. For example, the association in the modern mind of witches and cauldrons must surely be based more on Macbeth than any other source, and Shakespeare drew not on popular belief but on Seneca and Ovid.

This much has been said to emphasise the curious situation in which poets and dramatists of the period drew on "authorities" in the same way as the demonologists, although for different purposes, and to indicate that the ultimate source might well be another poet or dramatist. An attempt will now be made to examine the detailed use made of some of these authorities - the Bible, the use made by Shakespeare of possession pamphlets and treatises, passages from classical literature, the writings of Cornelius Agrippa on magical operation, witchcraft-treatises and the accounts of trials for

witchcraft. Since, as has been suggested, these authorities are sometimes mixed or used together by treatise-writers, so it has not always been possible to keep them severely discrete in the discussion of plays and poems. For example, Agrippa has been used to illumine Drayton's treatment of Scriptural stories, and playwrights sometimes quote classical poetry not directly, but as they found it in treatises on witchcraft, or coloured by mythographical commentary. While the writings of the poets and playwrights will be discussed according to their treatment of sources as categorised above, reference will occasionally be made to material in other categories when it is felt that this will elucidate the particular work under discussion.

(1) The Bible

The Bible was the authority that the demonologists regarded as being of prime importance, but there are only a handful of writers who draw on Scriptural incidents or loci. In these works there is discernible the influence of later purposes to which certain Scriptural passages were put in arguments on magic and its theological distinction from miracles. I have discovered no explicit treatment of the most extended instance of witchcraft in the Bible, the consultation by Saul of the Witch of Endor,[1] but one can sense this narrative informing incidents in two plays. The first is Macbeth's consultation of the witches in the cauldron scene. In both Macbeth IV.i and I Samuel XXVIII a king troubled by state affairs with the possibility of a battle in the offing, goes to a witch or witches who call up a former friend's spirit, or as the marginal note in the Geneva Bible and most of the treatises insist, a shadow impersonating the spirit. The king in both cases learns of his ultimate ruin. It is partly this consultation of the witches that caused Macbeth to give his eternal jewel to mankind's enemy.[2] Saul's consultation of the witch was seen as particularly damning. King James in his Daemonologie, a text Shakespeare certainly drew on for Macbeth, saw the consultation of witches as being as damnable as the practice of witchcraft.[3] Henry Howard says that Saul forsook the truth to seek sorcerers.[4] Paul thought that the lines about the "eternal jewel" referred to Macbeth's sin of practising ceremonial magic,[5]

1. I Samuel XXVIII.vi-xxv.
2. Macbeth, III.i.67-68.
3. Daemonologie, I.vii, p.26.
4. A Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophesies (1583), B3-B3v.
5. op.cit., p.279.

but I can find no evidence for this view. The rites and doctrines of the grimoires and claviculae have little or no bearing on the play.[1]

Saul's consultation of the witch may also lie behind the Earl of Kendal's consultation of the disguised Pinner of Wakefield in George a Green, the Pinner of Wakefield, first printed in 1599 and played for the first time between 1587 and 1593.[2] George tells the Earl, Lord Bonfield and Sir Gilbert that there is a man skilled in the magic art who could tell him of the future, and in sc.viii the nobles come to consult the magician. The similarities with the Biblical narrative are as follows. The three questioners, that is the Earl of Kendal attended by the other two nobles, come in disguise to the magician. The Book of Samuel relates,

> And Saul disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and he went, and two men with him, and they came to the woman by night:
>
> I Samuel XXVIII.viii

They wish especially to know the outcome of the war in which they are engaged. Saul, having been refused advice from God, went to the witch because he was afraid of the Philistines gathered against him.[2] Since the whole consultation in the play is a trick, George of course recognises the rebels. They express surprise at his recognition and attribute it to magic.[3] The Witch of Endor recognised Saul through his disguise,

---

1. Apart from possibly the raising of the apparitions. Compare the First Apparition, "an Armed Head" (IV.i) with a form of Martial spirits, "vir armatus", in the pseudo-Agrippan Liber Quartus, p.532. The plea of this apparition "Dismiss me. Enough." (IV.i.72), may be compared with the formal licence to depart given to spirits by magicians. See the English translation of the Liber Quartus (The Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, 1655), pp.59 and 61, and also a conjuring book in the hand of Simon Forman. Add. Ms. 36674, ff.53-53v. But the magic is performed by the witches.
2. I Samuel XXVIII.iv-vii.
3. George a Green (MSR), viii.698-699.

Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.
I Samuel XXVIII.xii

Both George and the Witch of Endor tell their enquirers of their defeat.

Samuel Rowlands drew closely and almost entirely on the Gospels to write his poem A Sacred Memorie of the Miracles wrought by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (1618). This poem comes within the scope of this study because Rowlands wrote a prefatory poem to the work entitled To All Sorcerers, Enchaunters, Charmers, Nigromancers, Conjurers, Magitians, Southsayers, Witches, Fortune-Tellers; And all the rest of the Devils Juglers, Whatsoever, and Wheresoever. This prefatory poem insists on the theological distinction between mira (a wonder) and miracula (a true miracle), which received its classic formulation in the works of Augustine,[1] and remained as a familiar feature in the treatises in English.[2] The devil cannot work true miracles and can only produce wonderful shows and counterfeits, a topic which will be returned to in a later chapter. With this distinction in mind Rowlands turns to an account of the true miracles performed by Christ. He gives prominence especially to the dispossessions recorded in the Gospels, closely following the Scriptural narratives. The passages he versifies are the expulsion of the devils into the Gadarene swine (Sacred Memorie, Rowlands, Complete Works, Vol.II, p.16) from Matthew VIII, the dispossession of the man that was dumb (pp.19-20) from Matthew IX, of the man that was dumb and blind (p.21) from Matthew XII.xxii, the dispossession of the daughter of the Canaanite woman (pp.25-26) from Matthew XV.xxi-xxviii, that of the demoniac in the synagogue (pp.30-31) from Mark I. xxiii-xviii, and the most spectacular case of the dispossession of the man that foamed at the mouth

1. On the function of true miracles see De Civitate Dei, X.xii. On the production of false wonders by the devil see De Divinatione Daemonum, iii.
2. Danaeus, Dialogue (1575), 12v-14v; James, Daemonologie (1597), I.vi, pp.22-23; Mason, Anatomie (1612), pp.16-17; Cotta, The Triall of Witchcraft (1616), vi, pp.43-44.

and gnashed his teeth (pp.31-33)[1] from Mark IX.xvii-xxvii. Rowlands follows the Biblical accounts of these possessions scrupulously, often repeating the words of Scripture. There are two deviations worth noticing.

In the account of the expulsion of the devils into the Gadarene swine, one of the demons begs Christ not to cast them into the void.

> Suffer us, as our fellow divell sayd;
> When he a spoyle of all Jobs substance made,
> Sacred Memorie, p.16

The demon in Matthew's account makes no reference to Job. Although there is no marginal reference in the Authorised Version of Matthew, the Evangelist Rowlands claimed he was using in a headnote to the passage, the account of the Gadarene swine in Mark is more interesting. The marginal note on the words "And forthwith Jesus gave them leave" (Mark V.xiii) gives several cross-references, including Job I.xii and Job II.vi, the verses in which God gives Satan permission to afflict Job. The importance of the connection lies in the theory that devils had to obtain the Divine Permission before afflicting men. Again this was a central belief of writers on demons. The Malleus, which may be taken as the standard scholastic work on witchcraft (until perhaps the publication of the Jesuit Del Rio's Disquisitiones), announces that its first part treats of the necessary concomitants of witchcraft, the devil, the witch and the permission of God. The idea may also be found in a whole array of English treatises.[2]

The second point of interest is Rowlands' use of the spectacular account of the demoniac that foamed and gnashed, and what it leaves out. Rowlands (pp.31-33) closely follows the Gospel narrative (Mark IX. xvii-xxvii) and then suppresses vv.28-29, which give Christ's explanation to his disciples as to why they could not cast the devil out.

> This kind can come forth by nothing, but by prayer and fasting.

---

1. p.32 is mispaginated as "p.23".
2. Edward Fenton, Certaine Secrete Wonders of Nature (1569), f.93v; Gifford, Discourse (1587), D4v; Robert Hill, Life Everlasting (Cambridge, 1601), pp.690-691.

Now prayer and fasting was the standard technique of Puritan dispossession in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,[1] and accounts by Puritans defending their exorcisms by appealing to this verse in Mark are common.[2] The Puritans of course used these dispossessions as proof that they had divine support for their beliefs and actions. Rowlands in the verse epistle to the Reader emphasised the unique nature of the miracles performed by Christ and their function in establishing and strengthening the Christian faith.[3] He goes on to insist that we should take no notice of later wonders.

> We are in no wise to admit of those,
> That doe depend on wonders and strange showes,
> Urging meere fancies, which themselves devise
> Of humane wit, and errors forged lyes,
>
> <u>Sacred Memorie</u>, p.6

He also refers to the devil deluding "schismatickes"[4] and says that if any.undertake to perform miracles like those in the Gospels then we are to remember that no miracles can be performed but by God and His Son. The suppression of the reference to prayer and fasting makes it probable that Rowlands knew of its potential support of Puritan arguments and therefore omitted it.

If in his poem Samuel Rowlands expressed a traditional and orthodox interpretation of Scriptural passages connected with magic, the attitude of Michael Drayton to his material is rather different. In his poems <u>Moses his Birth and Miracles</u> (1630)[5] and <u>David and Goliah</u> (1630), we find his treatment occasionally coloured by more orthodox ideas. In a preface to the 1604 edition of <u>Moses</u>, Drayton makes a distinction between the two types of authority he used in his poem. Obviously the authority of the Bible is unimpeachable, but Drayton

---

1. See Keith Thomas, <u>Religion and the Decline of Magic</u>, pp.484-487.
2. John Darrell, <u>A Briefe Apologie proving the Possession of William Sommers</u> (1599), pp.32-33; John Swan, <u>A True and Briefe Report of Mary Glovers Vexation</u> (1603), p.58.
3. <u>Sacred Memorie</u>, pp.5-6.
4. <u>ibid</u>. p.7.
5. <u>The Works of Michael Drayton</u>, Vols. I-V ed J.W.Hebel, Kathleen Tillotson and Bernard Newdigate (Oxford 1961). "<u>Moses his Birth and Miracles</u>" is simply <u>Moses in a Map of his Miracles</u> (1604) with a few minute verbal changes." Vol. V, p.225.

expresses some discrimination as to later material.

> ...whatsoever we have from Historie, as from Josephus, Lyra, or others of lesse authoritie: we use rather as Jems and exteriour ornaments to beautifie our Subject, than any way to mixe the same, with the solide bodie of that which is Canonicall and sacred.
>
> Works, Vol.V, p.227

Drayton's use of "Josephus" and "Lyra" has been identified by his editors[1] as borrowing from the Jewish Antiquities of Josephus and the Postillia of the exegete Nicholas of Lyra. Drayton also reveals in the marginalia that he drew on the comments on Moses of Petrus Commestor in his Historia Scholastica.

Drayton's handling of the conflict of Moses and Aaron with Pharaoh's magicians (Works, Vol.III, Moses, II.27ff.) is however quite orthodox. He suggests that the magicians were assisted by infernal powers, a familiar point. Here we have another instance of the distinction between mira and miracula that Samuel Rowlands was making. These magicians were a locus classicus for this distinction among the treatise-writers.[2] Moses' miracles, the real transformation of the rods into serpents, were effected through divine power. Pharaoh's magicians, assisted by the devil, could not really effect a transformation, - it was mere counterfeiting. This view is implicit in Drayton's "abstruse Magicke and fallacious Art".[3] This distinction, if he was not already aware of it, Drayton would have found in Petrus Commestor, who at one point terms the magicians "maleficos" (the Vulgate rendering), rather than the more neutral "magos", so they are already classed as black sorcerers. Petrus also insists that the seeming transformation was a false wonder.

> Et sciendum quia magi oculos spectantium deludebant. Vel secundum Augustinum, daemones discurrunt per mundum, et subito semina rerum, de quibus hoc agitur, afferunt.
>
> Historia Scholastica, Lib. Exodi, xiii (Migne, Patrologia Latina, Vol.198, column 1149)

---

1. Works, Vol.V, p.226
2. Scot, Discoverie, XIII.xx-xxi; Gifford, Discourse, E; James, Daemonologie, I.vi, pp.22-23; Perkins, Discourse, IV, pp.159-165.
3. Works, Vol.III, Moses, II.32.

Petrus also provided stories of Moses that come close to portraying him as a magician, a role assigned to him in some Cabbalistic and magical traditions.[1] Orthodox writers were at pains to reject these traditions.[2] Drayton in Moses I.542ff, drawing on the Historia Scholastica,[3] depicts Moses as making two rings, one to cause oblivion and the other an aid to recollection.[4] Again drawing on Petrus[5] Drayton describes Moses as finding by a form of divination the body of the patriarch Joseph, which had been drowned by the inundations of the Nile. He inscribed the Hebrew Tetragrammaton on a gold plate and floated it on the Nile until it came to rest over Joseph's grave.[6] Drayton also adds an alternative tradition from Petrus that the Israelites followed a sheep to find the body. The inclusion of both stories confuses the narrative. After these stories Drayton repeats the kind of discrimination he made in the 1604 preface.

> But that he thus did finde his burying place,
> As we tradition wisely may suspect,
> We onely this as Historie embrace,
> But else in faith as fabulous neglect.
> Moses, II.665-668

The repetition of the discrimination at this point may have been because Drayton realised the similarity of the tale of inscribing the Tetragrammaton on a golden plate to the practices of magicians in making magical lamina inscribed with divine names.[7]

In Moses Bk. III we hear of the miracle of the brazen serpent.[8] The Israelites had been punished by God with a plague of stinging serpents, but at the intercession of Moses God directed him to make a brazen

---

1. See Charles G. Nauert Jnr., Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought, pp.123,136,201,231-232.
2. James, Daemonologie, I.vii, pp.24-26.
3. Lib. Exodi vi (Migne, vol.198, Col.1144).
4. This story is quoted with enthusiasm by Agrippa, De Occulta I.xlvii.
5. Historia Scholastica, Lib. Exodi xxvii (Migne, vol.198, col.1155.
6. Moses, II.653-668.
7. See the Liber Quartus, p.547.
8. Moses, III. 661ff.

serpent and to set it on a pole. By looking at it the Israelites were healed. Drayton, who could in the orthodox way have treated this as a supernatural work possible only to the Deity, is enigmatic in his comments on the incident.

> That the forg'd figure of so vile a thing
> Should the disease so presently remove,
> Onely by th'eye a remedy to bring,
> Deepe searching Magicke leaveth to approve,
> Moses, III. 677-680

Again Moses is connected with magic. Petrus Commestor, Josephus and Philo who De Vita Mosi Drayton may have read, offer no illumination. Nicholas of Lyra offers an orthodox comment stressing that there was no virtue of healing in the figure of the serpent, which is contrary to Drayton's handling of the incident.[1] He also expresses the common exegetical idea that the serpent on the pole "Ratio autem mystica est" as it prefigures Christ on the Cross. Turning to a more unorthodox source, Cornelius Agrippa,[2] we find a deep magical association with the brazen serpent. Agrippa insists that magical prayer offered to God should commemorate a sacrament or a miracle.[3] The similitudes of God are holy.[4] Agrippa recommends mentioning the miracle of the brazen serpent in adjurations to charm serpents.[5] Most illuminating is the pseudo-Agrippan Liber Quartus. In the section on making "pentacles"[6] the writer recommends making them containing pictures or words from Scripture,

> quae passim in Sacris literis & Prophetis, tam veteris quam novi Testamenti traduntur: utpota figura serpentis in cruce suspensi,...
> Liber Quartus, p.535

---

1. A Protestant writer, Bishop Joseph Hall, put this opinion more tersely. He looks for a moral interpretation of the incident. "A serpent of brass could no more heal than sting them. What remedy could their eyes give to their legs?" Contemplations (Works, Vol.I), p.166.
2. Drayton knew of Agrippa for he includes a story about him in England's Heroicall Epistles. See below in the section on Agrippa's works.
3. De Occulta, III.lxi.
4. ibid., III.lxiii.
5. ibid., III.xxxiii.
6. In magical treatises pentaculum need not necessarily denote a five-sided or five-angled figure.

In Drayton's other poem on a Biblical subject, David and Goliah, one may discern similar tendencies at work in the poet's handling of the possession of Saul and the expulsion of the evil spirit by David's music. Drayton again adds to the Scriptural narrative. First he heightens the description of Saul's affliction. Now the relevant Scriptural passage, I Samuel XVI.xiv-xxiii, does not say that Saul was possessed in the sense Elizabethans would understand the word, although this seems to have been an assumption of some exegetes.[1] The Old Testament describes Saul as vexed by an evil spirit sent from God,[2] and the Bishops' Bible offers a rationalist and humour-psychology gloss on this verse.

> To vexe the minde of Saul, with the anguishe of an evyll conscience, by which anguishe blacke coller and phrenesie is engendered, as phisitions wryteth.

Drayton describes Saul as suffering from demonic possession and even the spectacular incident in Mark IX.xvii-xxvii which provides the closest parallels, could not have provided all the details.

> And falling then into outragious fits,
> With cramps, with stitches and convulsions rackt,
> That in his pangs he oft was like to act
> His rage upon himselfe, so raving mad,
> And soone againe disconsolate and sad;
> Then with the throbs of his impatient heart,
> His eyes were like out of his head to start,
> Fomes at the mouth, and often in his paine
> O'r all his Court is heard to roare againe;
> As the strong spirit doth punish or doth spare,
> Even so his fits or great, or lesser are.
> Works, Vol.III, David and Goliah, 210-220

> Not long it is e'er Saul the spirit doth feele
> To stirre within him, and begins to reele,
> And suddainly into a Trance he fals,
> And with his hands lyes grasping at the wals,
> ibid., 275-278

Drayton depicts Saul as a typical Elizabethan demoniac,[3]

---

1. See Nicholas of Lyra's comments below.
2. I Samuel XVI.xiv.
3. Although here again we are faced with the phenomenon of nature imitating art. Elizabethan demoniacs often manifest the symptoms we should expect from a reading of the Gospelnarratives.

and the details of the symptoms can be paralleled from a whole array of pamphlet and treatise descriptions. Among symptoms that cannot be found in the Gospels are the cramps, stitches and convulsions, the alternations between madness and grief, the trance and the twitching hands.[1]

Drayton's treatment of the expulsion of the demon by David's playing displays the poet interpolating ideas that have magical associations. Drayton shows David's playing as being efficacious in itself and this runs counter to orthodox theological explanation as it attributes miraculous power to natural phenomena. For example, Nicholas of Lyra, whom Drayton used in Moses, is forced to pages of close and sometimes tortuous argument on the last verse of I Samuel XVI to prove that music does not have power to drive out devils, although he thinks that music might have alleviated the condition.[2] Not only does Drayton see the music as casting out the devil, but commends those who suggested the remedy as exalted minds, seers partaking of the nature of angels, the kind of men to whom Heaven reveals its secrets.[3] Now Drayton is obviously intermittently portraying David as Orpheus.[4] The connection was obvious and was used for example by George Peele in David and Bethsabe (printed 1599). But it is suggested that Drayton took Orpheus more seriously and bearing in mind the poem's reference to "holy Magick"[5], that he coloured the Biblical narrative with some knowledge of Orphic musical magic and the furores. Agrippa's De Occulta will again be used to illumine the poem, as even if Drayton was not using the Nettesheimer's book, it was influenced by Neoplatonist theories and neatly summarises the

1. For convulsive twisting of the body see John Swan, A True and Breife Report (1603), pp.16017; for alternation between laughing and crying, The Most Strange and Admirable Discoverie of the three Witches of Warboys (1593) C; for the trance state ibid., A3; for fits and intervals, ibid., passim.
2. Nicholas of Lyra, Postillia (ed. Strasburg, 1492), gloss on I Regum XVI.xxiii.
3. David and Goliah, 229-240.
4. See the passage on David calming the animals with music, David and Goliah, 241ff.
5. ibid., 233.

theories of Ficino and his followers.[1] The De Occulta provides several interesting sidelights on Drayton's subject matter and treatment. David is mentioned as moderating Saul's rage by music,[2] and was partly inspired by the angel Cerniel who helped him to prophesy.[3] The ancients knew of the harmonious disposition of body and soul and used music to restore health. Nothing is more efficacious in driving away evil spirits, for being fallen they cannot endure harmony. In this way David drove away the evil spirit from Saul.[4] The profound knowledge of those who sent for David and the trance-like state of his auditors can be illuminated by one of Agrippa's chapters on the furores, entitled significantly in view of the connection Drayton makes between music and prophecy, "De furore & divinationibus". Melancholy attracts furor and this is conducive to divination. When the mind is elevated into the understanding it becomes a receptacle for divine spirits.

> Cum vero anima tota in mentem assurrexerit, tunc sublimium daemonum receptaculum effecta, ab illis arcana ediscit divinorum, puta Dei legem, ordines angelorum, & quae ad aeternarum rerum cognitionem animarumque salutem pertinent.
>
> De Occulta Philosophia, I.lx.

With this compare Drayton's lines approving of those who suggested the musical remedy.

> (With holy Magick for some spirits inspir'd,
> Which by a cleere Divinity are fir'd,
> And sharpned so, each depth and hight to try,
> That from their reach and visibility
> Nature no secrets shuts, and heaven reveales
> Those things which else from reason it conceales.)
>
> David and Goliah, 233-238

Another chapter on the furores notes that one degree is from Apollo, who is naturally associated with music, singing and harmony..

---

1. On the history of Orphic magic see D.P. Walker, Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino and Campanella, passim.
2. De Occulta, II.xxiv.
3. ibid., III.xlvii.
4. ibid., II.xxviii.

(2) Works on diabolic possession

Some reference has already been made in general terms to the subject of demonic possession and the bearing of connected theological arguments on some poems by Rowlands and Drayton. It was noticed that Rowlands was insistent on the unique nature of the Gospel dispossessions. The Reformed Church in England by and large rejected the possibility of exorcism in modern times.[1] The casting out of devils was a characteristic of the unique mission of Christ, or a gift given to the primitive Church to establish and strengthen the faith. Miracles were now ceased. Both Bishop Jewel and Jeremy Taylor rejected the possibility of modern exorcisms.[2] However both Puritans and Catholics exorcised and used stories of their successes as propaganda to validate their respective claims to divine approval. The statement of George More, the ally of the Puritan exorcist John Darrell that

> there can be but one true church, the principal mark whereof (as they say) is to work miracles, and of them this is the greatest, namely to cast out devils. A True Discourse, quoted by Thomas, p.484

may be taken as representing the attitude of both Puritans and the Jesuit mission in England. The Anglican Church had therefore to wage a propaganda war on two fronts against both Puritan and Catholic claims to dispossess, and was quite successful in revealing a number of frauds. It is the use of pamphlets produced during this skirmishing (especially those revealing the falseness of supposed cases) as sources by Shakespeare that is the concern of this section.

There is, I think, one outstanding characteristic of these pamphlets that made them attractive to Shakespeare, who incidentally was well aware of the doctrine that miracles had ceased.[3] The idea of pretending, feigning or playing a part is ubiquitous in these works. The words "feigning", "dissumulation" and "counterfeiting" occur again and again, indeed too

1. For an account of the attitude of the Reformed Church in England to possession and exorcism, see Keith Thomas, pp.477-492.
2. Thomas, p.479.
3. See the opening words of All's Well, II.iii.

frequently to need illustration. The claim of those revealing the fraud is that impostors, usually boys or girls or women, either on their own initiative or through the persuasion of unscrupulous papists or dissenters, played out the parts of demoniacs. As a result of this some of the pamphlets, especially those written by Samuel Harsnet, explicitly use the language of the stage. Kenneth Muir has noted Harsnet's frequent use of the language of the drama in his A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures (1603).[1] With this background of feigning, trickery and pretending in mind, it is significant that Shakespeare uses ideas about possession in connection with someone playing the part of a demoniac (Edgar in King Lear[2]), gulling (Malvolio in Twelfth Night), and quackery (Dr Pinch, the "doting wizard", in The Comedy of Errors). None of Shakespeare's characters is ever actually possessed.

Barbara Rosen[3] noticed the similarity of a speech in The Comedy of Errors, listing the things demanded by some devils, to Satan's conditions for leaving Agnes Brigges in the pamphlet The Disclosing of a late Counterfeyted Possession by the Devyl in two maydens within the Citie of London (1574). She compares

> Some devils ask but the perings of one's nail,
> A rush, a hair, a drop of blood, a pin,
> A nut, a cherry-stone;
> But she, more covetous, would have a chain.
> Comedy of Errors, IV.iii. 66-69[4]

to the devil in the pamphlet asking for a cherry, a hair and a nail-paring.[5] It may be further added that the demon had a drop of blood from his mistress to come and torment the girl,[6] and Agnes had pretended to vomit up pins as part of her pretence.[7] Other instances of the pamphlet's influence on the play may be discerned in the address of the exorcist Dr Pinch, significantly a ridiculous character, to the supposed demoniac Antipholus of Ephesus. The tone is drawn from the Puritans' incessant adjurations.

---

1. "Samuel Harsnet and King Lear", RES, New Series 2 (1951), pp.11-12
2. Note especially "My tears begin to take his part so much They mar my counterfeiting." King Lear, III.vi.59-61.
3. Witchcraft, p.235 note 6.
4. Mrs Rosen reads "ring" for "chain" in line 69.
5. The Disclosing of a late Counterfeyted Possession (1574), A5-A5v.
6. ibid., A5v.
7. ibid., A8.

> I charge thee, Satan,[1] hous'd within this man,
> To yield possession to my holy prayers,
> And to thy state of darkness hie thee straight.
> Comedy of Errors, IV.iv. 51-53.

> William Long spake thes woordes folowyng. I command the Sathane in the blode of Jhesus Christe,...
> Late Counterfeyted Possession, A3v

Prayers were used throughout the exorcism, for this, as has been mentioned above, was one of the standard Puritan techniques. Dr Pinch's adjuration to the devil to return to hell may be compared with

> Then we sayd, thou shalt goo to the etternall pytt of heall, which is prepared for the before the creaseyone of the world.
> Late Counterfeyted Possession, A4v-A5

The pamphlet's commendation of physic[2] may have influenced the Abbess' recommendation of natural remedies ("approved means"[3]) for what she sees as a condition with natural causes.

It has been suggested by both G.B.Harrison and M.M.Mahood that the scenes of the gulling of Malvolio in Twelfth Night III.iv. and IV.ii, where the conspirators address him as if he were possessed, contain some allusion to the career of John Darrell the Puritan exorcist.[4] The presumption that a play which we know to have been performed on 2 February 1602 and that depicts a character who is referred to and manifests some characteristics of a Puritan[5] and is ridiculed with suggestions that he might be a demoniac, appeals to a knowledge of the Darrell case must be strong. Darrell's well-publicised activities in Lancashire and Nottingham and his subsequent arrest for fraudulent practices by the ecclesiastical authorities seem to have created quite a stir, as did the following pamphlet-war. At least sixteen works were published between 1598 and

1. "Sathane" or "Sathayne" seems to have been the proper name of the possessing spirit in the 1574 pamphlet.
2. ibid., B3-B3v.
3. The Comedy of Errors, V.i.102ff.
4. For an account of Darrell's chequered career see Thomas, pp.483-485. Corinne Rickert's The Case of John Darrell Minister and Exorcist (University of Florida Monographs 9, 1962), tends to be biased and less reliable.
5. See J.L.Simmons, "A Source for Shakespeare's Malvolio: The Elizabethan Controversy with the Puritans", HLQ, 36 (1973), pp.181-201.

1603 and are extant, written on the one side by Darrell and his supporters and on the other by Harsnet and John Deacon and John Walker. Feste when putting on the gown of the curate Sir Thopas says

> Well, I'll put it on, and I will dissemble myself in't it; and I would I were the first that ever dissembled in such a gown.
> Twelfth Night, IV.ii.4-5

In view of the fact that the establishment attacked Darrell for fraululent practices, and that one of Harsnet's contributions to the skirmishing entitled itself A Discovery of the Fraudulent Practises of John Darrel, it is possible to see Feste's lines as a direct reference to the fraudulent exorcists. This view is supported by the disguised Feste's question to Malvolio,

> But tell me true, are you not mad indeed, or do you but counterfeit?
> Twelfth Night, IV.ii.109-110

as Sommers confessed that he had counterfeited.

G.B. Harrison referred in A Second Elizabethan Journal 1595-1598 (1931) to A True Discourse concerning the Certaine Possession and Dispossession of 7 persons in one familie in Lancashire (1600), written by a colleague of Darrell's George More.

> The "madness and "exorcism" of the puritan Malvolio would be highly appreciated in 1600-1601 when the pamphlet war, engendered by the efforts of Messrs. Darrell and More was at its hottest. Malvolio's "vain bibble-babble" and his fashionable yellow stockings show that he too was suffering from possession by the evil spirit of pride.
> p.358, note

Harrison repeats substantially the same point in his introduction to the Penguin edition of the play (1937). M.M. Mahood, although stating that "the expression was quite a common one", also picks up the reference to "bibble-babble" and refers it to a different pamphlet, Darrell's A True Narration of the Strange and Grievous Vexation... (1600?).[1] Feste's reference to "vain bibble-babble" echoes the Starkie children's mocking of the exorcists' reading from the Bible

> When we called for the Bible, they fell a laughing at it, and sayde, reach them the Bibble bable, bibble babbell, ...
> George More, True Discourse, p.55

1. New Penguin edition of Twelfth Night (1968), pp.177-178

> And thus they contynued all the afternoone. 3.or 4. of them gave themselves to Scoffing and Blasphemy, calling the holy Bible being brought up bible bable, bible bable.
>
> Darrell, A True Narration, p.9

I would suggest that there is evidence in this scene of Twelfth Night (IV.ii) that makes it more probable that Shakespeare read the Darrell book, that is, the True Narration.

Feste's rebuke to the supposedly possessed Malvolio,

> Fie, thou dishonest Satan! I call thee by the most modest terms, for I am one of those gentle ones that will use the devil himself with courtesy.
>
> Twelfth Night, IV.ii.31-33

which seems to need some explication, can be explained by reference to the True Narration. The Jesuit exorcisms of 1585-1586 that were to be satirised in Harsnet's Egregious Popish Impostures are mentioned in the pamphlet. Although an exorcist himself, Darrell naturally discounts the Church of Rome's claim to the power. Harsnet was in 1603 to scoff at "the astonishable power of Nicknames", a Catholic technique of verbally abusing the possessing demon, e.g.,

> Audi igitur insensate, false, reprobe: daemonum magister, miserrima creatura, ...
>
> Egregious Popish Impostures, p.112

Darrell made the point before Harsnet, ridiculing the technique and translating from Mengus who wrote the exorcist's manual Fuga Daemonum.

> Here let [the exorcist] aske their proper names, et. yf he will nor answere, or refuse to obay, let the exorcist with very sharpe wordes, commaundments, and adjurations iterated; require obedience: threatninge to thrust him downe into hell, presently... Here must the exorcist anger the divils as much as he can with reproaches, injuries, all which with greife the indure...let nim give them scornfull names, which are most grevous to the divils. Here mocke them with revilinges, Injuries, and the remembrance of thire salvation.
>
> True Narration, pp.77-78 of the section "Of the use everyone is to make of the workes of God"

Other traces of the influence of A True Narration on Twelfth Night are as follows. The first indication the audience receives of Malvolio's strange behaviour comes from Maria,

> He's comming madam; but in a very strange manner. He is sure possess'd, madam...he does nothing but smile... for sure the man is tainted in's wits.
>
> Twelfth Night, III.iv.8-13

Although Malvolio's behaviour is of course explicable in terms of the plot, it is significant that the first indication that the fraud Will Sommers was possessed was when he

> did use such strang and ydle.kinde of gestures in laughing, dauncing & such like lighte behaviour, that he was suspected to be madd:...
> True Narration, p.15

Malvolio's kissing his hand and singing a snatch from a popular song[1] is also light behaviour unlike his normal self. Sir Toby's exhortation

> What, man, defy the devil; consider, he's an enemy to mankind.
> Twelfth Night, III.iv.92-93

may be compared with the Puritan technique of godly exhortation of the possessed amply illustrated by the pamphlet.

> [I] did soe frame the wordes of my mouth, as might best serve to prepare and stir him up to a sperituall fight against satan, or resistance of him in faith.
> True Narration, p.18

Although John Starkie's water was not taken to a wise-woman, as Fabian suggested Malvolio's should be,[2] it was taken to a physician in Manchester.[3] Sir Toby's exclamation against Satan, "Hang him, foul collier",[4] could reflect the Starkie children's "pleasant speaches" on the subject of Edmund Hartley who had bewitched them and caused their sufferings.

> Do they thinke they coulde hang the divel? I wis no: they might hang Ed [mund] but they coulde not hang the divel:...
> True Narration, p.8

Maria proposes to get Malvolio to say his prayers, as a test for the possessed or witches was to get them to pray, both categories made some error or omission in the "Our Father" or the Creed. Will Sommers failed the test thus revealing himself as possessed.

> Being moved to say the lordes prayer, when he came to thes wordes leade us not into temptation, he would say leade us into temptation:...
> True Narration, p.16

---

1. Twelfth Night, III.iv.30-32.
2. ibid., III.iv.97.
3. True Narration, p.2.
4. Twelfth Night, III.iv.112.
5. ibid., III.iv.114.

This pamphlet can cast light on the more general antithesis in the play between ungenerosity and liberality, as its Puritan tenor is censorious of all light behaviour. The five youngest Starkie children were untroubled when they gave themselves to sport and amusement, including the time they went to see a play at a neighbour's house. They were however troubled whenever they gave themselves to any godly exercise.[1] Sommers acted out various sins in his fits, some of the minor ones especially abominated by the Puritans,

> as namlye brauling, quarriling, fighting, swaring, robbing by the high wayes, picking and cutting of pursses, burglarie, whordom, prid both in men and women, hypocrisie, slugishnes in hearing of the word, drunckennes, glotinye, also dauncing with the toyes thereunto belonging, the manner of antique dances, the games of dicing and carding, the abuse of the viole with other instruments.
>
> <u>True Narration</u>, p.18

This list contains most of the comparatively innocent accomplishments of Sir Toby and Sir Andrew Aguecheek - quarrelling, drinking, dancing, fighting, recorded in I.iii even down to the detail of Sir Andrew's expertise on the viol. The great joke is that it is the godly Malvolio who is seen as the demoniac and not the revellers, and one of the revellers, Feste, becomes the godly visitor to the demoniac.

Although the Darrell pamphlet had no discernible influence on the main plot, its opposition to ungodly and frivolous activities and their association with the devil furnished Shakespeare with analogues to his theme of liberality and selfishness, and provided him with details for the sub-plot.

With regard to Shakespeare's use of Harsnet's <u>Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures</u> (1603), in writing <u>King Lear</u>, it would be difficult to add anything to Kenneth Muir's description.[2] I would however suggest that a short work published in the same year as the <u>Popish Impostures</u>, Edward Jorden's <u>A Briefe Discourse of a Disease called the Suffocation of the Mother</u>, also had some influence on the play, especially on the portrayal of Lear's

1. <u>True Narration</u>, p.5.
2. "Samuel Harsnett and <u>King Lear</u>", <u>RES</u>, New Series 2 (1951), pp.11-21.

madness. Jorden's work,[1] although admitting the existence of possession in theory,[2] argues for the explanation in natural terms of most so-called cases of possession and their extraordinary symptoms. His attitude is that of the establishment and his work is generally directed to the same end as Harsnet's. Jorden ridicules the exorcisms of Papists in terms reminiscent of the Popish Impostures,[3] and he naturally considers such remedies as Ave Marias and prayers to saints superstitious.[4] On the other hand he takes the wind out of the Puritans' sails on their technique of prayer and fasting by approving of them for medical reasons, they are effective by "pulling downe the pride of the bodie", and because the patient has confidence in the exercise.[5] He also mentions counterfeiting and feigning, and among the examples he gives of frauds are Agnes Brigges and Rachel Pindar.[6] These were the counterfeiting maidens of London of the 1574 pamphlet, which was mentioned above in connection with The Comedy of Errors.

Muir[7] commenting on the lines in Lear

> O, how this mother swells up towards my heart!
> Hysterica passio - down, thou climbing sorrow,
> Thy element's below.
>
> King Lear, II.iv.55-57

refers to the mention of the suffocation of the mother by Harsnet. Jorden's treatise, which is sometimes referred to in general terms in annotating these lines, uses the two terms "hysterica passio" and "suffocation of the mother" frequently, and also describes the symptoms of the disease in great detail.

> ...for that the matrix being grievously anoyed with the malignity of those vapours doth contract it selfe and rise up by a locall motion towards the midrif.
>
> Suffocation of the Mother, ff.5v-6

1. The BM copy of this work (1177.c.1) has the Dedicatory Epistle unfoliated and the text (ff.1-25v) occasionally misfoliated. Signature references will be given for the Epistle, and folio references for the text. Attention will be drawn to misfoliations where necessary.
2. Suffocation of the Mother, Epistle A3.
3. ibid., Epistle A3.
4. ibid., f.24v.
5. ibid., Epistle A4.
6. ibid., f.12v.
7. article cited above, p.14

Jorden mentions the rising of the vapours and Harsnet does not. With this compare Lear's "swells up" and "climbing sorrow". It is suggested that Jorden's medical-psychological treatment of possession provided details for a portrayal of Lear's madness and its causes.

> The Internall sence is depraved when a man doth imagine, judge, or remember thinges that are not as if they were, or things that are, otherwise then they are indeed. ... As we see in those fooles which wee call naturals, in mad men, in melancholike men, in thosé that are furious, in such as do dote, in such as are distracted through love, feare, griefe, joye, anger, hatred, &c. In some of which they will laugh, crye, prattle, threaten, chide, or sing, &c. ...
> Suffocation of the Mother, ff.13-13v

This description of a man's actions is fully illustrated by Lear's initial weakness of judgement, his encounter with Goneril in I.iv, and with both Goneril and Regan in II.iv. Jorden says that the senses are weakened

> by Imminution when a man doth not Conceive, Judge, or remember so well as hee ought to doe, as in dulnesse or blockishnesse, as wee call it undiscretion, foolishness or want of judgement, in oblivion or forgetfulness, &c. They are abolished either in those drowsie affects which wee call Caros, Coma, veternus, Lethargus &c. ...
> Suffocation of the Mother, f.13

With this compare Lear's self-diagnosis,

> Where are his eyes?
> Either his notion weakens, or his discernings
> Are lethargied.
> Lear, I.iv.226-228

Lear's exclamation "My breath and blood!"[1] is a cry of anguish describing his physical symptoms rather than an oath, for Jorden describes the impairment of respiration and the working of the heart,[2] and erratic beating of the pulse.[3] Lear's "O me, my heart, my rising heart!"[4] may be interpreted in the same way. The King's line to Regan "I can scarce speak to thee"[5] is again a description of a physical state, for Jorden says that

---

1. Lear, II.iv.101.
2. Suffocation of the Mother, f.6 [unfoliated].
3. ibid., f.9v.
4. Lear, II.iv.119.
5. ibid., II.iv.134.

> in a resolution of the Muscles of the brest, as in a wound of that part, or in swounding the voice is taken away, because the matter of it which is breath, is either not sufficiently made, or is carried another way, ...
>
> Suffocation of the Mother, f.8

In the storm scenes and after his madness, the emphasis on Lear's external symptoms diminishes. On awakening to Cordelia, Lear pricks himself with a pin.

> Let's see.
> I feel this pin prick. Would that I were assur'd
> Of my condition!
>
> Lear, IV.vii.55-57

A logical connection between the two ideas in these lines can be provided by reference to Jorden, who says that it is especially the power to feel that is numbed by the disease.[1] Lear's perception of the pin-prick would give him hope that the condition was abating. As the rage returns the memory and eyes deteriorate again,[2] and Lear again suffers from constriction of the throat as he asks for a button to be undone.[3] Lear's doubt of whether Cordelia is dead or not may have been suggested by Jorden's description of girls lying in trances as if dead.[4] In this syncope, the very image of death, the body can lie for dead for three or four days. It is not suggested that Lear is to be seen as suffering from suffocation of the mother, but that Shakespeare in his reading of material on possession found a medical-psychological treatise which provided him with details for the symptoms of Lear's disturbance.

---

1. Suffocation of the Mother, f.14.
2. Lear, V.iii.277ff.
3. ibid., V.iii.309.
4. Suffocation of the Mother, ff.10 [misfoliated as "9"]-11.

(3) Classical sources

It was noted earlier that classical descriptions of witches were used by treatise-writers as proof and illustration of the activities of witches. Lists of marginal references such as those in Scot, Discoverie, I.iv and the extended quotations in XII.vii, and the marginalia in Alexander Roberts, A Treatise of Witch-craft, pp.8-9, identify the specific texts most frequently used. The primary passages were Ovid, Metamorphoses, VII and XIV, Virgil, Eclogues, VIII, Lucan, De Bello Civili, VI, Horace, Epodes, V and XVII and Satires, I.viii, Tibullus, Elegies, II.i. All these extracts give comparatively extended references to magic. Among other texts often mentioned and offering more minor examples are Ovid, Fasti, VI, Heroides, VI, De Remedia Amoris, and Virgil, Aeneid, IV. This list is not comprehensive but includes the more frequently cited references. A complete list would include such minutiae as stray passages in Petronius and single lines from Juvenal.

The poets and dramatists would seem to have borrowed mainly from extended passages in classical texts. A brief summary of the contents of the Virgilian and primary Ovidian passages will be given. It is from these two favourite Latin authors of the Renaissance that information on magic was most regularly sought. A summary of the gruesome description of the actions of Lucan's Erictho in De Bello Civili will also be given.

Virgil, Eclogues, VIII describes the singing-match of Damon and Alphesiboeus. Alphesiboeus determines to try magic to win the love of Daphnis. He considers the powers of magic, and spells which pull down the moon from the sky and which transformed the companions of Ulysses.[1] The details of his amatory magic are given, including the famous tying of the triple knot. As the fire melts the wax-image, so may his love affect

---

1. Virgil, Eclogues, VIII.69ff.

Daphnis.[1] The altar flickers with fire, a dog barks. Is Daphnis coming? Or, and here the poem ends with a delicate ambiguity, "an qui amant ipsi somnia fingunt?"[2] In the Aeneid, IV, Dido, deserted by Aeneas, tells Anna that she has been shown a priestess who can affect the hearts of men and turn back the stars. She instructs Anna to build a pyre so that she may burn all the things that remind her of Aeneas in a magical rite. This is what the priestess directed. Dido as of course planning her suicide. Anna calls on the gods, especially Hecate, and sprinkles water as the pyre burns. The magical preparations also include herbs cut by moonlight with a brazen sickle.[3]

In Ovid, Metamorphoses, VII, Jason requests from Medea a potion to renew the youth of Aeson. Medea goes out at night to practise her rites.[4] She sprinkles water and invokes Night, Hecate, the earth and minor deities.[5] She boasts of her powers to stir up seas, break the jaws of serpents, pull down the moon from the sky and so on.[6] In response to her invocation to Hecate the dragon-chariot descends from the sky and Medea goes off on a journey lasting nine days and nights, searching for magical herbs.[7] On her return she goes through the magical ceremonies, including sacrifice, libation and incantation, preliminary to the renewal of Aeson's youth.[8] Aeson is brought out and ritually purified and there is a description of the frothing cauldron with its strange and gruesome ingredients, including the limbs and entrails of animals.[9] Aeson is given the potion and rejuvenated.

We hear of Circe in Book X of the Odyssey and in Book XIV of the Metamorphoses. The Ovidian account will

---

1. Virgil, Eclogues, VIII.73ff.
2. ibid., VIII.105ff.
3. Aeneid, IV.479ff.
4. Metamopphoses, VII.179ff.
5. ibid., VII.192ff.
6. ibid., VII.199ff.
7. ibid., VII.219ff.
8. ibid., VII.239ff.
9. ibid., VII.251ff.

here be given. At the beginning of the Book, Glaucus appeals to Circe for a charm to win the love of Scylla. When Circe declares her own love for Glaucus she is rejected.[1] Mixing together enchanted herbs, she scatters them in a pool where Scylla bathes and the maiden is transformed from the waist down into a monster.[2] The rest of the Circe story is really too well-known to justify an extended repetition. She, by means of an enchanted cup, transforms the companions of Ulysses into swine, but fails to transform Ulysses himself as he has been forewarned and forearmed by Mercury.[3]

In Lucan's De Bello Civili, VI, Sextus goes to the witch Erictho to learn of the outcome of the forthcoming battle.[4] The abilities of the witches of Thessaly to put pressure on the gods, incite lust and interfere with the laws of nature are described at great length.[5] Lucan wonders why the gods allow such things.[6] A description of the witch and her practices follows.[7] Erictho at the request of Sextus invokes the deities of the underworld. She pours a disgusting mixture into a newly-dead corpse,[8] and invokes the Furies and the chthonic gods.[9] The corpse is temporarily re-animated and answers the witch's questions.[10]

Some reference has already been made to the use made by many treatise-writers of such narratives. In debates on witchcraft many writers were prepared to accept classical poetry as something approaching history.

---

1. Metamorphoses, XIV.1ff.
2. ibid., XIV.42ff.
3. ibid., XIV.242ff.
4. De Bello Civili, VI.419ff.
5. ibid., VI.443ff.
6. ibid., VI.492ff.
7. ibid., VI.507ff.
8. ibid., VI.667ff.
9. ibid., VI.698ff.
10. ibid., VI.719ff.

It is difficult to determine whether English poets and dramatists were disposed to regard these narratives of witchcraft in Virgil, Ovid and others in the same way. A formulation of the question, - what degree of veracity is an English poet writing a fiction prepared to ascribe to another (and pagan) poet when the latter writes about witches in a fiction of his own? - indicates something of the difficulty. Such a question cannot be answered on the same terms for a poet as a demonologist. The treatise-writers were intent on using classical texts to demonstrate the reality of magic, a poet or dramatist is not called upon to assert the reality of the world he creates or incidents in it. Without a knowledge of the personal beliefs of the individuals concerned, the acceptance of the reality of the witch-craft described in classical texts is difficult to ascertain. Even this begs the question of whether a writer always asserts his personal beliefs in a particular work.

Two points may be made in a general way. The delight of the Renaissance in allegorizing mythology, and the frequent use by poets of myths with their allegorical meanings, need not necessarily have meant that the real existence of the practices of classical witches was disbelieved. We find in the Epistle to the Earl of Leicester prefatory to Arthur Golding's translation of the Metamorphoses of Ovid, that the enchantments of the witch Circe have become a warning against the pleasures of the world.

> What else are Circes witchcrafts and enchauntments than the vyle
> And filthy pleasures of the flesh which doo our soules defyle?
>
> Golding, Metamorphosis, ed.J.F.Nims, Epistle to Leicester, 276-277

On the other hand among the significations of Medea, although some are moralistic, for example that no-one

can hurt or help like a woman,[1] one implicitly asserts the reality of witchcraft in Ovid's time, for the story is taken as a warning not to commit one's life or affairs into the hands of sorcerers.[2] The Preface to the Reader naturally maintains that the pagan gods were fictions, and then in pointing out their allegorical meaning explains that Hecate signifies witches, conjurers and necromancers.[3] The translation and allegorization of Ovid which appeared at the other end of the period under consideration, Sandys' Ovids Metamorphosis Englished (first edition, 1626, edition used, Oxford, 1632), may be used to demonstrate the same point, perhaps even more forcefully. Sandys' work drawing on numerous authorities and mythographers[4] may be taken as a brief summa of Continental mythography. It presents several different interpretations of the stories. Sandys' treatment of Medea offers euhemerism (the brazen bulls were really a garrison of mercenaries[5]), and allegory (Jason stands for medicine and Medea for counsel[6]). It also reveals that the real existence of witchcraft is never doubted by Sandys. Medea ungirt and dishevelled is following the normal practice of witches.[7] Medea performed her wonders not through skill but by the assistance of evil angels, and the power of the devil is greater than we can imagine.[8] Medea refrained from the embraces of Jason before performing magic as the custom of magicians is to abstain from Venus before operation.[9] In fact, although Sandys informs the reader of allegorical and euhemeristic interpretations of the story of Jason and Medea, the Ovidian abilities of Medea take their place in a short digression asserting the reality of witchcraft.[10]

---

1. Golding, Metamorphosis, Epistle to Leicester, 147.
2. ibid., Epistle to Leicester, 152.
3. ibid., Preface to Reader, 73.
4. See D.C. Allen, Mysteriously Meant, pp.192-195.
5. Sandys, Metamorphosis (1632), pp.252-253.
6. ibid., p.253.
7. ibid., p.253.
8. ibid., pp.254-255.
9. ibid.,p.256.
10. Sandys' discussion of Medea also reveals that classical texts could support each other's authority on witchcraft. Sandys asserts that Medea's cutting of herbs with a brazen sickle is the "custome of magicians" as we have the authority of Virgil's Aeneid for the practice. Metamorphosis, p.255.

The second point is that commentaries on classical poems could transmit an acceptance of the veracity of the practices described in the poems. An examination of the Argument to Virgil, Eclogues, VIII in Abraham Fleming's translation of 1567 reveals that not only are the practices of the shepherds thought to be real, but also that Virgil was skilled in them.

> [Alphesiboeus] calleth Daphnis home againe from the city to the country, ... and this is done by sorcerie or witchcraft, wherof this eclog is framed Pharmaceutria. Now because sorcerie or magicall art did alwaies offend the Romans, and that they could in no wise away with it, and was therfore flatly forbidden to be used; the poet therfore followeth a fine fansie of his owne, desiring heere of the muses a charm of Alphesibey, as if himselfe had been utterly ignorant of such practises.
>
> The Bucoliks of Publius Virgilius Maro (ed. 1589), p.22

The witches Circe and Medea, aunt and niece in most accounts, who were mentioned above in the context of Golding's Epistle, may be taken as representative of the two main uses to which classical accounts of witchcraft were put. Although the story of Circe occurs frequently in treatise arguments about transformations,[1] a practice apparently started by Augustine,[2] who quoted Virgil, Eclogues, VIII in his discussion, English poets and dramatists seem generally to have used the story with its allegorical significance. The story of Medea, on the other hand, is mined with great regularity to provide details of what witches actually did and the ingredients and techniques they used. The distinction is obviously not rigidly observed and it is possible, for example, to find many allegorisations of Medea, of different degrees of curiousness, in the writings of Continental mythographers. We find Medea the inventor of hair-dye, Medea signifying an immodest woman infatuating an older man, Medea the discoverer of medicinal baths, Medea symbolizing the caution of a good physician should have.[3] She appears

---

1. See, for example, Scot, Discoverie, V.i; Le Loyer, Treatise of Specters, xii, ff.128v-129.
2. De Civitate Dei, XVIII.xviii.
3. D.C. Allen, Mysteriously Meant, pp.59,183,184,198 respectively.

in The Faerie Queene, II.xii.44-45 carved on the gate to the Bower of Bliss, where the significance "voluptatum desiderium" given to her by the mythographer Comes is to the fore rather than her magic.

Borrowings from Ovid's description of Medea's witchcraft, the most popular source, and other classical descriptions of what witches did, will be examined first. As poets and dramatists often used various classical accounts together, these will be considered together in particular plays or poems. Care is often needed in distinguishing the exact source, as classical writers report similar details. The ability of witches to interfere with the moon can be found in Metamorphoses, VII, Amores, I.viii, Virgil, Eclogues, VIII and so on.

It should be stated at this point that this examination of the use of classical sources excludes Jonson's The Masque of Queenes. Jonson forestalled all annotators by glossing his play with a mass of references to the classical authors, which include Apuleius, Lucan, Theocritus, Horace, Homer, Ovid, Petronius and Seneca, and Continental demonologists he used. These are given in the Yale edition of the masques p.526.ff. The Yale editors supplement Jonson's short references with full references to the texts he used.

John Lyly found the name of his character Dipsas and her double function as witch and bawd in Ovid, Amores, I.viii, a detail overlooked by R.W. Bond and noticed by R.G. Howarth.[1] Apart from the name and function of Dipsas there seems to be only one other borrowing from the Amores, the ability of Dipsas to turn herself into a bird. Tophas has a dream,

> There appeared in my sleepe a goodly Owle, who sitting upon my shoulder, cryed twyt twyt, & before myne eyes presented her selfe the expresse image of Dipsas.
>
> Lyly, Works, ed.Bond, Vol.III, Endimion, III.iii.130-132.

---

1. "Dipsas in Lyly and Marston", NQ, July 1938, pp.24-25.

This must come from the power of Ovid's Dipsas to take the form of a bird at night.

> hanc ego nocturnas versam volitare per umbras
> suspicor et pluma corpus anile tegi.
> Amores, I.viii.13-14

For the rest of Dipsas' characterisation Lyly conveniently demonstrates the partiality of the dramatists for the self-description of Medea.

> Dipsas. I can darken the Sunne by my skil, and remoove the Moone out of her course; I can restore youth to the aged, and make hils without bottoms; there is nothing I can not doe, but that onely you would have me doe; ,..
> Endimion, I.iii.20-23

This is a detailed borrowing for I.iii.20-21 from Metamorphoses, VII.207-209 for the details of darkening the sun and tampering with the moon, an attempt of which Cynthia later complains to Dipsas. She says

> Thou hast threatned to turne my course awry, ...
> Endimion, V.iii.24

Dipsas' ability to make hills without bottoms may be referred to the Ovidian lines

> ... iubeoque tremescere montis
> et mugire ...
> Metamorphoses, VII.205-206

There is a more general borrowing of the fact that Medea rejuvenated Aeson, although perhaps Lyly may have had in mind especially the lines

> nunc opus est sucis, per quos renovata senectus
> in florem redeat primosque recolligat annos,
> Metamorphoses, VII.215-216

Thomas Heywood borrowed directly and extensively from Metamorphoses, VII for the story of the winning of the Golden Fleece in The Brazen Age. As soon as Medea comes on stage after a brief introduction from Oetes she plunges immediately into the "quorum ope" speech.

I can by Art make rivers retrograde,
Alter their channels, run backe to their heads,
And nide them in the springs from whence they grew.
Brazen Age (Dramatic Works, 1874, Vol.III), p.209

The Ovidian speech is used at great length by Heywood in the play. He uses Metamorphoses, VII.199-202 and 207-208 in the scene of Medea's self-introduction and then the sections he omitted, i.e., VI.205-206, 208-209, for another piece of vaunting by Medea in a conversation with Jason.[1] For the actual invocation to Hecate,[2] Heywood goes back to the beginning of the passage in the Metamorphoses to use the invocation to Hecate and other minor deities.[3] The similarity at this point of Heywood's "elves of Hils, of Brooks, of Groves, / Of standing lakes" to Golding's translation of the Ovidian lines,

... ye Elves of Hilles, of Brookes, of Woods alone,
Of standing Lakes, ...
Golding, Metamorphosis, VII.265-266

suggests a knowledge of Golding. Heywood, having used most of the invocation, picks up Ovid again at VII.218 at the mention of the dragon-chariot. He then draws on the description of Medea's aerial journey in search of herbs (VII.220ff.), including the names of the mountains and rivers, with two additions of his own, the Caucasus[4] and Teneriffe. Heywood's "Amphrisius Foords" again suggests Golding, as it is his rendering of the plain Ovidian "Amphrysi". Ovid does not provide the information that there were fords on the river. Allthis material, the invocation and the herb-gathering, is prefatory in Ovid to the rejuvenation of Aeson which takes place after the return of the Argonauts to Iolchos. Ovid uses the material to provide a spectacular introduction for Medea and as a preface to the capture of the Golden Fleece. The playwright was obviously determined to use the "quorum ope" passage and its spectacular claims. The only remotely magical material prefatory to the taming of the bulls in Ovid is the meeting of Jason and Medea by the altar of Hecate when

1. Heywood, The Brazen Age (Dramatic Works, ed. 1874, Vol.III), p.214.
2. ibid., p.215.
3. Ovid, Metamorphoses, VII,194,197-198.
4. Seneca's Medea gathered herbs from the Caucasus. Medea, 709.

the witch hands the hero "cantatas ... herbas".[1] Jason simply puts the dragon to sleep with the herbs and magic words. Heywood makes the concession of including a list of herbs whose poisonous or soporific qualities, with the exception of cypresses,[2] are attested by Gerard's Herball (1596). These plants, suitable for lulling asleep a dragon, replace the ingredients in Medea's cauldron, some of which have associations with longevity.[3]

It is possible to attribute some degree of attachment to the Ovidian description of Medea to both Michael Drayton and Shakespeare. Drayton has two borrowings from the "quorum ope" speech. The first is in the ecstatic dialogue between the two shepherds Doron and Dorilus. Doron boasts

> Why Dorilus I in my skill
> Can make the swiftest Streame stand still,
> Nay beare back to his springing.
> Muses Elizium (Works, Vol.III), Third Nimphall, 57-59

This is from Metamorphoses, VII. 199-200. Drayton in this poem is again making a triple association of poetry, ecstatic furor and magic.[4] Probably the pastoral dialogue form suggested magical references by analogy with those in the singing-match between Damon and Alphesiboeus in Virgil, Eclogues, VIII. The description therein of the magical powers of song, "carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam"[5] would have been especially suggestive. But it was to the Medea passage that Drayton turned.

Something of the same process can be seen in a passage in Drayton's Englands Heroicall Epistles, in the verse epistle of Elinor Cobham to Duke Humphrey.

---

1. Metamorphoses, VII.98.
2. The funereal associations of the cypress in the period are well-known. Pliny asserts that the tree is consecrated to Pluto and is connected with death, Natural History, XVI.lx. See also Horace, Epodes, V.18.
3. Metamorphoses, VII.264ff.
4. See above on the musical exorcism of Saul.
5. Virgil, Eclogues, VIII.69.

She is exiled on the Isle of Man and longs for magical powers to revenge herself.

> They say, the Druides once liv'd in this Ile,
> This fatal Man, the place of my Exile,
> Whose pow'rfull Charmes such dreadfull Wonders wrought,
> Which in the Gotish Island Tongue were taught;
> O, that their Spels to me they had resign'd,
> Wherewith they rays'd and calm'd both Sea and Wind!
> And made the Moone pawse in her paled Sphere,
> Whilst her grim Dragons drew them through Ayre:
> Englands Heroicall Epistles (Works, Vol.II),
> Elinor Cobham to Duke Humphrey, 125-132

Drayton claims he knew of the Druids from Tacitus' life of Agricola.[1] However the powers he attributes to them are those of Medea (Metamorphoses, VII.200-202, 207-209), together with the reference to her dragon-chariot. In making the moon the driver of the dragon-chariot Drayton is picking up the fact in Ovid that Medea's chariot is sent down in response to her invocation to Hecate as three-formed Luna, "aderat demissus ab aethere currus".[2] Drayton then attributes to the Druids the usual practices of English witches, - harming crops and animals and feeding familiars.[3]

Drayton uses the Ovidian description of the witch making the potion to renew Aeson's youth in two poems. In The Barrons Warres, Canto III.41-64, Queen Isabel makes a sleepy drink to lull asleep Mortimer's gaoler. Drayton, like Heywood, conflates the incident of putting to sleep the dragon with the description of the herbs that renew Aeson's youth. He also interpolates a list of soporific herbs in lines 49-54. The animal ingredients, - the brains of cranes, blood of dormice and snakes, - are modelled on the fauna in Medea's cauldron (Metamorphoses, VII.269-274). Drayton then adds a suggestion of ceremonial magic in lines 57-64, with a circle and magical instruments. Drayton again associates Isabel with Medea in Englands Heroicall Epistles in the Epistle of Isabel to Mortimer, again

---

1. Although Agricola XVIII.iii mentions the voyage of Agricola to Mona it says nothing of the Druids. The Annales mentions both Mona and the Druids but not Agricola.
2. Metamorphoses, VII.219. It is possible that the assumption that it was Hecate's chariot that transported Medea was a common one of mythographers. See, for example, the marginal gloss in Sandys, Metamorphosis, p.236.
3. Elinor Cobham to Duke Humphrey, 133-135.

in the context of putting to sleep Mortimer's gaoler.

> Oft did I wish those dreadfull poys'ned Lees,
> Which clos'd the ever-waking Dragons Eyes;
> Queen Isabel to Mortimer, 27-28

The second line closely follows the Ovidian detail of the dragon's eternal watchfulness, "somnus in ignotos oculos sibi venit".[1]

Drayton also uses the tale of Medea's restoration of Aeson's youth in the Epistle of Henry II to Rosamund. It is incorporated into a flattering compliment by Henry to the rejuvenating properties of Rosamund's love, which is greater than any of Medea's concoctions.

> That great Enchantresse, which once tooke such paines,
> To put young Bloud into old AESONS Veines,
> And in Groves, Mountaines, and the Moorish Fen,
> Sought out more Hearbes then had been knowne to Men,
> And in the pow'rfull Potion that she makes,
> Put Bloud of Men, of Birds, of Beasts, and Snakes;
> Never had needed to have gone so farre,
> To seeke the Soyles where all those Simples are;
> One Accent from thy Lips the Bloud more warmes,
> Then all her Philters, Exorcismes, and Charmes.
> Henry to Rosamund, 85-94

Line 87 represents a telescoping of Medea's herb-gathering journey. Drayton adds the non-Ovidian ingredient of human blood to heighten the horror. Henry goes on to describe the spring that Rosamund's love has created in him,[2] a passage probably inspired by Ovidian details of Medea's potion frothing over and causing the earth to grow green and flowers to spring up.[3] Drayton may well be using the allusions to Medea ironically in this poem. In view of the acknowledged disparity in age between Henry and Rosamund, it is likely that Drayton was thinking of one allegorical interpretation of the myth of the renewal of Aeson's youth, that it signifies the infatuation of an older

---

1. Metamorphoses, VII.155.
2. Henry to Rosamund, 99-106.
3. Metamorphoses, VII.279-284.

man for a younger woman.[1] This hypothesis is supported by the use of the myth with similar associations in Idea 44. The poet growing older renews the youth of the beloved like Medea. He rejuvenates the mistress with his poetry, but his only reward is disdain and scorn, and his withered face shows misery and disgrace.

Shakespeare of course used a section of Medea's speech, looking probably at both the Latin and Golding's translation, for Prospero's final invocation in The Tempest.[2] The details of the borrowings have been minutely studied.[3] Two inter-related observations may be made. The first is that it is difficult to agree with Kermode and Baldwin when they claim

> Only those elements which are consistent with "white magic" are taken over for Prospero.
> The Tempest (ed. Kermode), p.149

It has been seen that some of the treatise-writers and translators saw a continuity between classical and modern witchcraft, and that they thought that witches in whatever age practised the same evils. Medea was seen by Sandys as operating with the assistance of evil spirits. Prospero's abilities to dim the sun, call up storms and raise the dead are hardly the abilities of a "white magician", and orthodox opinion would not have recognised the existence of such a species. The second point is that Shakespeare shows Prospero as having re-animated the dead, and this especially supports the view that the dramatist did not select harmless details from Ovid. On the contrary, he seems in this particular instance to have made Medea's calling up the spirits of the dead into something much more sinister. Ovid's original points to Medea practising necromancy, "iubeoque ... / ... manesque [spirits of the dead] exire sepulcris!"[4] Golding 's rendering of

1. See Allen, Mysteriously Meant, p.198, and Natalis Comes, Mythologiae (ed. Venice, 1568), VI.vii, f.177v. "Haec dicta est senes nonnullos juventuti restituisse per herbas & ignem; quia in sui desiderium vel senes attraxerit artificiose, feceritque ut tanquam juvenes imprudentes & impudentes essent."
2. For a study of Shakespeare's use of Ovid's Medea see T.W.Baldwin, William Shakespeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke, Vol.II, pp.436-451.
3. Baldwin, Vol.II, pp.443-451; The Tempest (Arden ed. by F. Kermode, 1964), Appendix D.
4. Metamorphoses, VII.205-206.

the lines is more ambiguous, but "I call up dead men from their graves"[1] suggests "call up spirits" again with the implication of necromancy. Shakespeare gives to Prospero the lines

> Graves at my command
> Have wak'd their sleepers, op'd, and let 'em forth,
> By my so potent art.
> Tempest, V.i.48-50

These lines, I suggest, convey the idea that the magician re-animated the dead. In fact the description of graves opening and awakened sleepers coming forth evokes the idea of the Last Day and the resurrection of the body.[2] Prospero in Shakespeare's refashioning of Ovid usurps the divine function in raising the bodies of the dead, and even that of the Judge on the Last Day.

Shakespeare has two minor allusions to Medea's magic. These are Jessica's lines referring to Medea gathering herbs in The Merchant of Venice, V.i.12-14, and a suppressed reference by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 2 Henry IV to Medea putting to sleep the dragon guarding the Fleece.

> I sent your Grace
> The parcels and particulars of our grief,
> The which hath been with scorn shov'd from the court,
> Whereon this hydra son of war is born;
> Whose dangerous eyes may well be charm'd asleep
> With grant of our most just and right desires;
> And true obedience, of this madness cur'd,
> Stoop tamely to the foot of majesty.
> 2 Henry IV, IV.ii.35-42

Recent editors[3] have thought that the change in the imagery is from an allusion to Hydra, to Mercury putting Argus to sleep (Metamorphoses, I.622ff.). Steevens was probably more correct in his edition of 1793[4] when he referred the reader to Medea. The Hydra was far more likely to suggest another mythological serpent than Argus. Neither is there anything in the description of Argus

---

1. Golding, Metamorphosis, VII.275.
2. See the use of the simile of sleepers in Christ for the dead awaiting their resurrection in descriptions of the Last Judgement in the Epistles, especially 1 Corinthians XV and 1 Thessalonians IV.xiv-xviii.
3. For example, Cowl (Arden 1926) and Humphreys (Arden 1967).
4. Cited in the Variorum edition, p.311.

to suggest him as "dangerous", unlike the "horrendus custos" guarding the Fleece.[1]

The figure of Medea and the description of her activities in Metamorphoses, VII, and Seneca's Medea influenced Macbeth in two main respects. Shakespeare found in these classical texts describing the witch, material for both the depiction of Lady Macbeth[2] and the cauldron scene. The point may be made that mythographical interpretations, drawing on the picture of cruelty and ruthlessness in Ovid and Seneca, gave one of the significations of Medea as a self-willed woman who did not bridle her passions or desires and was prepared to sacrifice family, and betray her country and kingdom to gain her ends. Comes sees her as "sceleratam & libidinosam foeminam" who betrayed all because of "immoderataque libidinem".[3] Inga-Stina Ewbank has written on the influence of Seneca, probably in Studley's translation of 1566, on Lady Macbeth's "murd'ring ministers" speech.[4] The Senecan speech provided an invocation to the powers of darkness and the details of unsexing and cruelty. One further point needs to be made concerning the details of witchcraft which Shakespeare added to his remodelling of this speech. I suggest that Lady Macbeth is invoking devils to come and be her familiars.[5]

The significant lines in such an interpretation are

> Come, you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, ...
> Come to my woman's breasts,
> And take my milk for gall, you murd'ring ministers,
> Wherever in your sightless substances
> You wait on natures mischief,
> Macbeth, I.v.37-47

---

1. Metamorphoses, VII.151. Ovid in Heroides, XII.107 describes the dragon's eyes as "flammea ... lumina".
2. See Inga-Stina Ewbank, "The Fiend-like Queen", Shakespeare Survey, 19(1966), pp.82-92.
3. This libidinem is not sexual as can be seen from the context in Comes. Medea became a traitress "ob furiosum Jasonis desiderium, immoderataque libidinem". Comes, Mythologiae, f.177v.
4. Ewbank in the article cited above, pp.83-84.
5. Paul's interpretation, The Royal Play of Macbeth, pp.269-270, appears over-elaborate.

Drayton's passage on the Druids in the Epistle of Elinor Cobham to Duke Humphrey, discussed above, may be cited as a supporting example of another author who combined classical material with the details of English witchcraft. Familiars were thought of as executing the malicious desires of witches, quite often to kill someone.[1] They were sometimes imagined as lying in wait for an opportunity to manifest themselves to sinful individuals. In this context I take Lady Macbeth, who is entertaining the idea of murdering Duncan, to use the adjective "mortal" in the Latin sense of "mortalis". The idea of the familiars sent to kill occurs later in "murd'ring ministers". The part of the witch in this relationship was to feed the familiars. This was done in various ways with a variety of nourishment, but the two most common were blood and milk and there are numerous cases of the familiar sucking parts of the witch's body.[2] This feeding commonly took place before or after the familiar was sent on a malicious errand.[3] There is an illustration in a trial pamphlet, The Apprehension and Confession of Three Notorious Witches ... in the Countye of Essex (1589), which shows the witch Joan Prentis holding her breast in the way usually signifying suckling in illustration, while her familiar stands on her lap (whispering in her ear?).

Ovid's description of Medea provided the allusions to Hecate[4] in the play and the triple

---

1. References may be found in accounts of numerous trials in the period. The typical chain of events is described by George Gifford. A witch has been refused food. "Home shee returneth in great fury, cursing, and raging. Forth shee calleth her spirite, and willeth him to plague such a man. Away goeth hee." Discourse (1587), G3.
2. Again references are very numerous. See, for example, Gifford, Dialogue (1593), B4v.
3. Instances are commonplace. Every time Elizabeth Frauncis' familiar did something for her it demanded a drop of blood. John Philip, The Examination and Confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde (1566), reprinted in Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society, Vol. III, p.26.
4. On Shakespeare and Hecate see Baldwin, Shakesperes Small Latin, Vol. II, pp.436-440.

repetitions of the witches.[1] One detail about Hecate deserves further annotation. This is in the lines

> ... now witchcraft celebrates
> Pale Hecate's offerings; and wither'd murder,
> Alarum'd by his sentinel, the wolf,
> Macbeth, II.i.51-53

Although a similar passage in Lucrece is usually cited in this connection, it is worth noting a passage in Seneca which connects the rites of witchcraft and the moon. Medea invokes the three-fold Hecate

> that sendest furthe thy lyght,
> Unto thy sylent Sacryfyse
> that offered is by nyght,
> Medea (Studley's translation (1566), ed. Spearing), 180-182

One other observation may be made about the iterative imagery of blood and milk in the play.[2] Seneca's gory tragedies are usually accepted as having provided suggestions for the welter of blood in the language of Macbeth.[3] It is interesting to note that as part of her preparations for the magical renewal of Aeson's youth, Ovid's Medea mixes blood and milk.

> Not farre from thence she digde two pits: and making sacrifice
> Did cut a couple of blacke Rams throtes and filled with their blood
> The open pits, on which she pourde of warme milke pure and good
> A boll full, ...
> Golding, Metamorphosis, VII.320-323

With this compare especially Malcolm's lines when he pretends to Macduff that he would be a greater criminal than Macbeth

> Nay, had I pow'r, I should
> Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell,
> Macbeth, IV.iii.97-98

In the cauldron scene Shakespeare would have had the models in Ovid[4] and Seneca in mind, and it is significant that the Senecan Medea's potion is a prelude

---

1. Paul, p.273, cites Metamorphoses, VII.189.
2. On the imagery of milk and feeding see Kenneth Muir, "Image and Symbol in Macbeth", Shakespeare Survey, 19(1966), pp.45-47.
3. Ewbank in the article cited above, pp.82-83,85
4. Shakespeare knew of the herb-gathering journey on the evidence of The Merchant of Venice, V.i.12-14.

to the summoning up of spirits.[1] The ingredients are mainly Shakespeare's own inventions, with those in the classical texts as models. Ovid's Medea used owl's feathers, were-wolf's entrails, scales of water-snakes, stag's liver and crow's head.[2] The Senecan description had, I think, an equal influence. Ovid's Medea says no magical words over her cauldron, but the witches' addition of the ingredients one at a time and their chant may be compared with the Senecan account,

> She layes her crossynge handes upon
> eache monstrus conjurd thynge,
> And over it her magicke verse
> wyth charmyng dothe she synge:
> Studley, Medea, 1967-1970

The witches' gruesome "Make the gruel thick and slab"[3] may also be compared with Medea's "slybber slabbar sosse / of chauntments".[4] The ingredients of the cauldron in Macbeth include several that are reptilian. Medea conjures up a brood of serpents who are variously described by the Nurse, with cankered scales, forked tongues, bright eyes and stings.[5] The contents of the Senecan cauldron are far more gory than the Ovidian, including clotted blood of serpents, an owl's heart and filthy birds.[6] One detail I would suggest came from Lucan's description of Erictho. The final addition to the cauldron in Macbeth is

> grease that's sweaten
> From the murderer's gibbet ...
> Macbeth, IV.i.65-66

Erictho molests the bodies of executed criminals and scrapes the black humour of corruption from the cross on which they have been crucified.[7]

---

1. Studley, Medea, 1927ff.
2. Metamorphoses, VII.269-274.
3. Macbeth, IV.i.32.
4. Studley, Medea, 1734-1735.
5. ibid., 1971ff.
6. ibid., 2107ff.
7. Lucan, De Bello Civili, VI.545ff.

Marlowe's Faustus does not rely very heavily on classical sources. Medea's "te quoque, Luna, ..."[1] or general references to classical witches tampering with the moon are usually cited as annotations to Faustus' lines to Mephistophiles,

> I charge thee waite upon me whilst I live
> To do whatever Faustus shall command:
> Be it to make the Moone drop from her Sphere,
> Or the Ocean to overwhelme the world.
> Faustus (Works, ed. Bowers, Vol.II), iii.264-267

However I suggest that Marlowe was thinking of Virgil, Eclogues, VIII at this point, which also describes the power of magic to interfere with the moon in the line "carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam"[3], as the following line in Faustus, "Or the Ocean to overwhelme the world" has its origin in the same poem. Damon, despairing of the love of Nysa, cries "omnia vel medium fiat mare".[3] It is further suggested that Ovid's Medea was in the playwright's mind at one point in the play which is not recognised. This is during the description of the Chorus of Faustus' journey to view the secrets of astronomy.

> Learned Faustus
> To find the secrets of Astronomy,
> Graven in the booke of Joves high firmament,
> Did mount him up to scale Olimpus top.
> Where sitting in a Chariot burning bright,
> Drawne by the strength of yoked Dragons neckes;
> He viewes the cloudes, the Planets, and the Starres,
> Faustus, Chorus 2, 754-760

Now although the English Faust Book[4] tells of the ride in a waggon drawn by two dragons (which may itself have its original in Ovid), it seems that Marlowe's mind was drawn to Medea's journey in her chariot,[5] as he mentions Olympus over which the witch passed in her travels.[6] Seneca's Medea provided, I believe, the suggestion for one passage in Faustus.

---

1. Metamorphoses, VII.207.
2. Eclogues, VIII.69.
3. ibid., VIII.58. Fleming in his 1589 translation rendered this line "Let all things be the midst of sea as therewith overflowne". Bucoliks, p.24.
4. Ed. Palmer and More in The Sources of the Faust Tradition, p.170.
5. Metamorphoses, VII.219ff.
6. ibid., VII.225.

This is the bloodthirsty vow of the magician,

> To him [Beelzebub], I'le build an Altar and a Church,
> And offer luke-warme bloud, of new borne babes.
> Faustus, v.401-402

Seneca's Medea vows

> Then at the Alters of the Gods
> my children shall be slayne,
> With crimsen colourd blood of babes
> their alters will I staine.
> Studley, Medea, 283-286

I believe Marlowe conflated the suggestion in Medea of offering up the blood of children on altars with some knowledge of witchcraft literature.[1]

---

1. The distinctive feature of these lines is the sacrifice of children on altars, an anachronistic idea for the period in the history of witchcraft. Ward in his edition of the play (Oxford 1901, impression of 1927), p.165, mentions the confession of the converted S. Cyprian that he had massacred children, and the tales of ritual sacrifice by Jews of Christian children in the middle ages. More pertinent are instances cited by Jeffery Burton Russell in his study Witchcraft in the Middle Ages. The sacrifice of children was an accusation against witches tried at Orléans in 1022, witches at Simmenthal 1395-1405, at a trial in 1480 and at trials at Dauphiné 1421-1440. Russell, pp.88,216,260,217 respectively. The accusation was also one of the spectacular and monstrous crimes with which Gilles de Rais was charged.

Paul Kocher discriminatingly points out that "Renaissance witches do not erect altars and churches to the Devil". Christopher Marlowe, p.161. Ritual sacrifice on altars in parodies of the Mass was one of the characteristics of the bestial crimes of aristocratic circles in late seventeenth century France.

Bodin nowever accuses magicians of "sacrifices abhominables" to the Devil (De la Démonomanie Paris, 1580, II.iv), and witches of sacrificing children to the Devil (IV.v). Reginald Scot introduced the idea to the English reader in his citation of Bodin that "[witches] sacrifice their owne children to the divell before baptisme, holding them up in the aire unto him, and then thrust a needle into their braines." Discoverie, 1584, II.ix.

Marlowe probably obtained the suggestion of the sacrifice of children on altars and the offering of their blood from Seneca, and found confirmation from witchcraft literature that witches made sacrifice of their children.

In their editions of Robert Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, Ward (Oxford, 1927) and Seltzer (1963) referred to Metamorphoses, VII for the lines

> Resolve you, doctors, Bacon can by books
> Make storming Boreas thunder from his cave
> And dim fair Luna to a dark eclipse.
> Friar Bacon, ed. Seltzer, ii.46-48

> And three-form'd Luna hid her silver looks,
> ibid., x.12

I think that two borrowings from Lucan's description of the powers of Erictho are also discernible in the play. These occur in Bacon's speech to Miles which contains the second borrowing from Ovid's lines on Medea.

> Miles, thou knowest that I have dived into hell
> And sought the darkest palaces of fiends;
> ...
> The rafters of the earth rent from the poles,
> x.7-11

As the originals for these I suggest Lucan's statements that Erictho knew the mysteries and dwellings of the underworld,

> Nosse domos Stygias arcanaque Ditis...
> De Bello Civili, VI.514

and that the Thessalian witches can shake the earth on its axes,

> Terra quoque inmoti concussit ponderis axes,
> ibid., VI.481

R.F. Hill when editing William Browne's The Inner Temple Masque, which was performed as part of the Christmas festivities 1614-1615, noted that one of the two main sources for the masque was Ovid's description of Circe in Metamorphoses, XIV. It is this text to which he refers the Siren's lines on the magical powers of Circe.

> ... scarce he, each hour,
> That wields the thunderbolts, can things begun
> By mighty Circe, daughter to the sun,
> Check or control; she that by charms can make
> The scaled fish to leave the briny lake,
> And on the seas walk as on land she were;
> She that can pull the pale moon from her sphere,
> And at midday the world's all-glorious eye
> Muffle with clouds in long obscurity;
> She that can cold December set on fire
> And from the grave bodies with life inspire;
> She that can cleave the centre and with ease
> A prospect make to our antipodes;

> Whose mystic spells have fearful thunders made
> And forc'd brave rivers to run retrograde.
> She, without storms, that sturdy oaks can tear
> And turn their roots where late their curl'd tops were;
> She that can with the winter solstice bring
> All Flora's dainties.
> Inner Temple Masque, ed. R.F. Hill
> in A Book of Masques, 55-73

In fact only one line is drawn from the Ovidian description of Circe. This is the description of the enchantress walking on the sea, which comes from

> ... ingreditur ferventes aestibus undas,
> in quibus ut solida ponit vestigia terra
> Metamorphoses, XIV.48-49

It was suggested above that the figure of Circe was generally used allegorically and Medea was used for a description of the powers of witches. William Browne's masque supports this view, as Browne turns from Ovid's account of Circe to his account of Medea for a list of magical powers. Browne also used Lucan for a few details. The borrowings from Metamorphoses VII are pulling the moon from the sky and darkening the sun (61-62) from Metamorphoses, VII.207-209,[1] with the detail of the muffling clouds possibly from the Amores passage on Dipsas, "cum voluit, glomerantur nubila caelo" (Amores, I.viii.9). The tearing up of oaks and the rivers running backwards (Inner Temple Masque, 69-70) are also from the Medea passage (Metamorphoses, VII.199-200, 204-205). A description of Circe in a stage-direction, "quaintly attired, her hair loose about her shoulders" (94-95) reflects the Ovidian portrayal of the witch going out to invoke Hecate,

> egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas,
> nuda pedem, nodos umeris infusa capillos,
> Metamorphoses, VII.182-183

Sandys, it will be remembered, thought that to be ungirt and dishevelled was the usual appearance of those practising magic.

---

1. Again the sun is dimmed at noon, a detail not in Ovid, so Browne must have been remembering an English version of the "quorum ope" speech, possibly Prospero's.

The borrowings from Lucan are as follows. The Siren says that Jove,wielder of the thunderbolts, cannot control Circe (55-58). Jupiter marvels that the heavens stand still by Erictho's power and that they thunder without his knowledge.

> Axibus et rapidis inpulsos Juppiter urguens
> Miratur non ire polos.
> De Bello Civili, VI.464-465

> Et tonat ignaro caelum Jove;...
> ibid., VI.467

Circe's ability to set cold December on fire I take to be an allusion to magic inflaming desire in the old and to be a re-working of Lucan on the Thessalian witches.

> Carmine Thessalidum dura in praecordia fluxit
> Non fatis adductus amor, flammisque severi
> Inlicitis arsere senes.
> De Bello Civili, VI.452-454

The detail of the old burning (arsere) with desire prompted Browne's "set on fire". Although line 65, "And from the graves bodies with life inspire" could have been suggested by Medea's "manesque exire sepulcris" (Metamorphoses, VII.206), Erictho's brief necromantic re-animation of a corpse (De Bello Civili, VI.719ff.) may have provided the idea of "inspiring" the spirit back into the body. The lines

> She that can cleave the centre and with ease
> A prospect make to our antipodes;
> Inner Temple Masque, 66-67

draw on the Thessalian witches' feat of driving a tunnel through the earth by magic,

> Tantae molis onus percussum voce recessit
> Perspectumque dedit circumlabentis Olympi.
> De Bello Civili, VI.483-484

Lucan also influenced lines by Ulysses which describe Circe's magic,

> Thou more than mortal maid
> Who when thou lists canst make, as if afraid,
> The mountains tremble and with terror shake
> The seat of Dis; and from Avernus lake
> Grim Hecate with all the Furies bring
> To work revenge; or to thy questioning
> Disclose the secrets of th'infernal shades
> Or raise the ghosts that walk the under-glades.
> Inner Temple Masque, 184-191

Erictho could, if she wished, bring up a multitude from Avernus (De Bello Civili, VI.633ff.). She threatens, in her invocation to the Furies and Hecate, to force these underworld deities up into the light (VI.730ff.). After the invocation to the chthonic deities, Erictho re-animates the body of a dead soldier and forces it to answer her questions (VI.750ff.).

Lucan's description of Erictho has so far been mentioned as being used to supplement Ovid's Medea by English dramatists. Lucan's witch was the sole source for the character of the same name in Marston's The Tragedy of Sophonisba, except that Syphax's declaration "Since heaven helps not, deepest hell we'll try!" (Works, ed. Bullen, Vol.II, Sophonisba, IV.i.97) translates a tag from the Aeneid, Juno's "flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo" (VII.312). A.José Alexrad compares passages from Marston and Lucan in his Un Malcontent Élizabethain: John Marston (Paris, 1955), accounting for IV.i.98-125. It should be added that the sense of bodily corruption and decay in the lines

> From half-rot sear-cloths then she scrapes dry gums
> For her black rites; but when she finds a corpse
> But newly graved, whose entrails are not turn'd
> To slimy filth, with greedy havock then
> She makes fierce spoil, ...
>
> Sophonisba, IV.i.112-116

represents Marston's exacerbation of the horror, as Lucan had described the dry cinders of a cremated corpse. Marston was conceivably influenced by the later description of the witch scraping a criminal's cross (De Bello Civili, VI.544ff.), mentioned above as a possible influence on the cauldron-ingredients in Macbeth. The sexual innuendo in "And sticking her black tongue in his dry throat" is also Marston's doing. Syphax had threatened Sophonisba with necrophilia earlier in the play (IV.i.58-62). Other cases of obvious translation not picked by Axelrad are as follows.

> ...the roll'd-up snake uncurls
> His twisted knots at our affrighting voice.
>
> Sophonisba, IV.i.134-135
>
> ...gelidos his explicat orbes
> Inque pruinoso coluber distenditur arvo;
>
> De Bello Civili, VI.488-489

...a vast cave,
Over whose brow a pale and untrod grove
Throws out her heavy shade, the mouth thick arms
Of darksome yew (sun-proof) for ever choke;
Within rests barren darkness; fruitless drought
Pines in eternal night; the steam of hell
Yields not so lazy air: ...
Sophonisba, IV.i.162-168

Haud procul a Ditis caecis depressa cavernis
In praeceps subsedit humus, quam pallida pronis
Urguet silva comis et nullo vertice caelum
Suspiciens Phoebo non pervia taxus opacat.
Marcentes intus tenebrae pallensque sub antris
Longa nocte situs numquam nisi carmine factum
Lumen habet. Non Taenariis sic faucibus aer
Sedit iners, ...
De Bello Civili, VI.642-649

Marston exchanges the comparatively recondite allusion to the grove of Taenarius for the simpler one of hell, perhaps influenced by the mention of the rulers of Tartarus in the Latin two lines later.

There are also passages in Marston, which although not direct translations of Lucan, have obviously been suggested by the Latin author.

Erictho. ... to us heaven, earth, sea, air,
And Fate itself obeys; the beasts of death,
And all the terrors the angry gods invented ...
Tremble at us; ...
Sophonisba, IV.i.130-134

Lucan (VI.461ff.) describes the Thessalian witches' power to control the heavens, sea and air. In place of "the beasts of death" in line 131, which was Bullen's reading, H.H. Wood in his edition (Edinburgh,1938) read "the heastes of death" from a 1606 quarto in the British Museum.[1] Bullen's reading is obviously correct as Lucan says that all animals capable of killing fear the Thessalian witches.

Omne potens animal leti genitumque nocere
Et pavet Haemonias ...
De Bello Civili, VI.485-486

---

1. BM C.34.d.3. sig.E4v. Another copy of the 1606 quarto, also printed by John Windet (BM Ashley 1102), reads "the beastes of death". On the evidence of the passage in Lucan, the latter reading obviously represents what Marston wrote.

Erictho boasts

> I do not pray you, gods; my breath's,"You must."
> Sophonisba, IV.i.139

This reflects Lucan's wondering questions as to why the gods are enforced to obey the witches (VI.492ff.), and

> We that can make enraged Neptune toss
> His huge curl'd locks without one breath of wind;
> Sophonisba, V.i.12-13

draws on Lucan's

> Ventis cessantibus aequor
> Intumuit; ...
> De Bello Civili, VI.469-470

conflated with the preceding two lines,

> Umentes late nebulas nimbosque solutis
> Excussere comis.
> ibid., VI.468-469

The lines

> ... the king of flames grows pale,
> Lest he be chok'd with black and earthy fumes,
> Which our charms raise.
> Sophonisba, IV.i.136-138

were probably suggested by a description of Erictho,

> Dixerat, et noctis geminatis atre tenebris
> Maestum tecta caput squalenti nube pererrat.
> De Bello Civili, VI.624-625

Part of the song accompanied by infernal music,

> Now crack the trembling earth, and send
> Shrieks that portend
> Affrightment to the ghosts which hear
> Erictho.
> Sophonisba, IV.i.197-200

reflects Lucan's Erictho's threats to the Furies and the gods of the underworld which she shrieks into the earth,

> Perque cavas terrae, quas egit carmine, rimas
> Manibus inlatrat regnique silentia rumpit:
> De Bello Civili, VI.728-729

It was suggested above that the figure of Circe was usually used with the allegorical significance very much in evidence. In fact passing references in the literature of the period to Circe symbolizing pleasure or luxury are so frequent that one must assume that the allegorized myth had passed into comparatively common usage. In The Faerie Queene Book II and Milton's Comus one is faced with the phenomenon of two Circe figures, Acrasia and Comus, operating on two imaginative

levels. One is that of the story, romantic-chivalric or pastoral, whose atmosphere is conducive to magic, and one is that of the allegory. Since so much has been written on the use of classical mythology by both Spenser and Milton,[1] this section will concern itself with the question of how clearly the magical aspects of the witch's character appear as opposed to the allegorical interpretation of the classical texts.

The response to the magic in the story of Acrasia in Book II of The Faerie Queene is weakened by the obvious nature of the allegory. That is, the reader does not start thinking about the ability of the enchantress to change the shapes of men because it is plain that Spenser in using the story is telling him something about the degrading effect of excessive sensual pleasure. It should be pointed out that it does not therefore follow that Spenser does not allow magic any reality in his story. Indeed in the case of Archimago, the poet goes out of his way to appeal to the reader's general knowledge of magic to support the likelihood of what he is saying. Spenser comments on Archimago's power to shift his shape,

> He then devisde himselfe how to disguise;
> For by his mightie science he could take
> As many formes and shapes in seeming wise,
> As ever Proteus to himselfe could make:
> Sometime a fowle, sometime a fish in lake,
> Now like a foxe, now like a dragon fell,
> That of himselfe he oft for feare would quake,
> And oft would flie away. O who can tell
> The hidden power of herbes, and might of Magicke spell?
> I.ii.10

This stanza may be taken to demonstrate the possible complexity of the relationship between an English poem, classical sources describing magic and allegorical interpretations of these classical passages. In the story Archimago is seen producing magical effects. In the stanza quoted above his ability to change shape is compared to that of Proteus. An interesting variation

---

1. Especially illuminating on the subject of the figures of Circe and her Italian descendants in literature is M.Y. Hughes, "Spenser's Acrasia and the Circe of the Renaissance", JHI, 4 (1943), pp.381-399.

on the theme of magic and allegorical interpretation can be provided by reference to Natalis Comes, who says that some writers thought that Proteus was a magician, that is that he was a person who had once lived and practised magical arts,

> Alii crediderunt per magicas artes Proteum in praedictas formas se mutasse: ...
> Mythologiae, VIII.viii, f.246v

Having referred back to a classical authority for support, Spenser then appeals to a contemporary knowledge of magic, - who can tell what the virtue of herbs or the power of spells may be?

However, it is clear in the case of Acrasia that it is the allegorical interpretation of Circe that Spenser is using. The terms of magic themselves have almost become metaphor. This may be illustrated by a section of Amavia's narration of the story of Mordant. Acrasia had enthralled the knight in the Bower of Bliss,

> Him so I sought, and so at last I found,
> Where him that witch had thralled to her will,
> In chaines of lust and lewd desires ybound,
> And so transformed from his former skill,
> That me he knew not, neither his owne ill;
> II.i.54

In the discussions of demonologists the story of Circe was examined for its relevance to the debate on transformation. In this stanza the word "transformed" has become a metaphor. There is not even an indication that it was a physical transformation that Mordant underwent. The same is true of Guyon's encounters in the Bower of Bliss (II.xii). Circe's cup, the instrument of magical transformation, is found in the hand of Excess (II.xii.56) and by the side of the Genius (II.xii.49), but not in the hands of Acrasia.

One instance of direct borrowing from a classical account of Circe can be found in The Faerie Queene Book I. I do not find that it has so far been noticed. In the fight of Orgoglio and Duessa against Arthur and his Squire in Book I Canto viii, Duessa mounted on her Beast magically overcomes the Squire,

Then tooke the angrie witch her golden cup,
  Which still she bore, replete with magick artes;
  Death and despeyre did many thereof sup,
  And secret poyson through their inner parts,
  Th'eternall bale of heavie wounded harts;
  Which after charmes and some enchauntments said,
  She lightly sprinkled on his weaker parts;
  Therewith his sturdie courage soone was quayd,
And all his senses were with suddeine dread dismayd.
I.viii.14

The description of Duessa is of course in part drawn from that of the Great Whore who sat carrying a cup full of fornication on the back of the Beast (Revelation XVII.x). But the Apocalypse says nothing of any poisonous or magical properties of the cup, nor of any magical words. Spenser is conflating the figure of Babylon with that of Circe, of whom he was reminded by his picture of a woman carrying a cup. Circe transformed Scylla by sprinkling noxious liquor into a pool while murmuring a charm,

... his fusis latices radice nocenti
spargit et obscurum verborum ambage novorum
ter noviens carmen magico demurmurant ore
Metamorphoses, XIV.56-58

A similar situation, that of a classical source for magic being used with allegorical accretions, obtains in Milton's Comus. The Attendant Spirit admonishes the brothers (and Milton the reader) that the writings of the ancients are not to be esteemed fabulous.

... 'tis not vain or fabulous,
(Though so esteemed by shallow ignorance)
What sage poets taught by the heavenly Muse,
Storied of old in high immortal verse
Of dire chimeras and enchanted isles,
Complete Shorter Poems, ed. Carey, Comus, 512-516

The reference in the last line must be an allusion to Circe's island of Aeaea, and it was of course the figure of Circe that profoundly influenced Milton's description of Comus. Again the language describing the magic in the masque often obviously invites the reader to interpret allegorically Milton's use of myth. For example the Attendant Spirit relates Comus' ability to transform,

Whose charmed cup
Whoever tasted, lost his upright shape,
And downward fell into a grovelling swine
51-53

The idea of moral degradation is apparent in the way the legend is used. In the line "To roll with pleasure in a sensual sty" (77), both the myth and the allegorical meaning it represents are given equal prominence. Two points, so far unnoticed, may be made concerning the use of material in allegorical works where that material concerns magic. I do not think that anyone has commented on the fact that Milton says that Comus "excels his mother at her mighty art" (63). Circe, the mother of Comus and Milton's model for his magician, in turn excelled her mother at magic. Natalis Comes[1] says that Circe was the daughter of the Sun and Perse, who was herself skilled in enchantment, and that Circe

> vel matrem ipsam veneficiorum peritia superavit:...
> Mythologiae, VI.vi. f.173v

One other detail that needs annotation is the fact that only the heads of men were transformed into animal shapes in Comus. In both Homer and Ovid the entire man is changed. Especially significant in this connection are the lines

> The express resemblance of the gods, is changed
> Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear,
> Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,
> All other parts remaining as they were,
> 69-72

Carey in his edition of the masque[2] cites the obvious Biblical passages that claim that man was made in the image of the Creator. However there are lines in Ovid which, together with allegorical commentary on them by Sandys, are equally important. In his account of the creation Ovid states that man was born superior to all the animals,

> pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
> os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre
> iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus:
> Metamorphoses, I.84-86

Scot (Discoverie, V.v) had used these lines against Jean Bodin who had used the Metamorphoses as an authority

1. On Milton's use of classical dictionaries and mythographers see Starnes and Talbert, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries, Chapter VIII. "The Mythologiae ... was a book known by Milton." p.248.
2. Complete Shorter Poems (1968)

for the ability of witches to transform man's shape. Sandys in his comments on Circe's transformation of Scylla is obviously thinking of the lines on the erect carriage of man. Scylla was of course only changed by Circe's magic from the waist down.

> That the upper part of her body, is feigned to retaine a human figure, and the lower to be bestiall; intimates how man, a divine creature, endued with wisdome and intelligence, in whose superior parts, as in a high tower, that immortall spirit resideth, who only of all that hath life erects his lookes unto heaven, can never so degenerate into a beast, as when he giveth himselfe over to the lowe delights of those baser parts of the body, ...
> Metamorphosis, p.475

Thus Milton would have read in both Sandys and Ovid of the divinity of man residing in the head which he can turn to the stars. It is for this reason he exalts the human visage as the resemblance of the gods. The transformation of only the heads of the rout indicates that they have forfeited the divinity in man through excessive pleasure.

As a last variation on the theme of the relationship between classical myth allegorized, magic, and English poetry, a passage from Chapman shows that mythography could provide materials for the compilation of a magical invocation. Chapman's borrowings from Natalis Comes for the depiction of the various characteristics of the moon in Hymnus in Cynthiam were noted by Schoell.[1] However both Schoell and Phyllis Bartlett[2] strangely ignore the borrowing from Comes in the last section of the poem, which invokes the moon as Hecate in her aspect as goddess of witchcraft.

> Then in thy cleare, and Isie Pentacle
> Now execute a Magicke miracle:
> Slip everie sort of poisond herbes, and plants,
> And bring thy rabid mastiffs to these hants.
> Looke with thy fierce aspect, be terror-strong;
> Assume thy wondrous shape of halfe a furlong:

1. Franck L. Schoell, Études sur l'Humanisme Continental en Angleterre (Paris 1926), p.25ff. and Appendix, pp.179-193.
2. The Poems of George Chapman, ed. P.B. Bartlett.

Put on thy feete of Serpents, viperous hayres,
And act the fearefulst part of thy affaires:
Convert the violent courses of thy floods,
Remove whole fields of corne, and hugest woods,
Cast hills into the sea, and make the starrs,
Drop out of heaven, and lose thy Mariners,
So shall the wonders of thy power be seene,
And thou for ever live the Planets Queene.
Poems, ed. Bartlett, Hymnus in Cynthiam, 512-528

Lines 518-526 can be accounted for by passages in Comes. He says that Hecate is also called Brimo "a fremitu" and

Hanc canes complures sequebantur, ... Idcirco cum de veneficia quadam muliere loqueretur Tibullus in primo Elegiarum, canes Hecates domuisse pro scientia veneficorum & artes magicae dixit, quia rabidi canes illam semper sequerentur; ...
Mythologiae, III.xv, f.75v

Comes also provided the terrifying physical picture of Hecate given by Chapman.

Hanc terribilem aspectu, proceritateque corporis vel ad mensuram dimidii stadii accedere dixerunt: pedesque habuisse ad serpentis formam, cum vultus & aspectus figura proxime ad Gorgonum naturam accederet. Pro coma densissimi dracones & viperae, alie in cincinnorum morem contortae, atque sibilantes visebantur: ...
ibid., III.xv, f.75

The familiar abilities of classical witches attributed by Chapman to Hecate are from a catalogue in Comes.

Potest eadem rursus veneficiorum praefecta fluviorum cursus convertere, segetes alio transferre, montes in profundum dejicere, astra deducere de celo, ...
III.xv, f.77

Of the first three lines of the passage which are not from Comes, line 517 may I think be traced to the doings of Dido's sister, the priestess Anna. In a passage in the Aeneid full of lunary references, Anna invokes Hecate who is also three-faced Diana, and cuts poisonous herbs by moonlight,

falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aenis
pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;
Aeneid, IV.513-514

Lines 515-516 present more of a problem. Chapman obviously knew of the pentacle as something solid, - a magical figure on paper or metal. For this we have the evidence of the appearance of the goddess Ceremony,

"A rich disparent Pentackle she weares" (Hero and Leander, Sestiad III.123). Chapman probably intends the word here to mean either the circle of the moon as it appears in the sky, or, less probably, the moon's sphere.

Finally there are two imitations of the section of Virgil's eighth Eclogue describing ceremonies of amatory magic. The shorter of the two is a lute-song by Thomas Campion and occurs in his The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres. The latest edition of Campion's works[1] notes Theocritus, Idylls, II and Virgil, Eclogues, VIII as models, and also notes the borrowing of some details from the Virgilian Eclogue. The song is short and is here quoted in its entirety.

> Thrice tosse these Oaken ashes in the ayre,
> Thrice sit thou mute in this inchanted chayre;
> Then thrice three times tye up this true loves knot,
> And murmur soft, shee will, or shee will not.
>
> Goe burn these poys'nous weedes in yon blew fire,
> These Screech-owles fethers, and this prickling bryer,
> This Cypresse gathered at a dead mans grave:
> That all thy feares and cares an end may have.
>
> Then come, you Fayries, dance with me a round,
> Melt her hard hart with your melodious sound.
> In vaine are all the charmes I can devise:
> She hath an Arte to breake them with her eyes.
>
> Campion, Works, ed. Davis, p.154

Among the borrowings from Virgil is the throwing of the ashes, although Virgil does not specify oak, nor a triple repetition,

> fer cineres, Amarylli, foras rivoque fluenti
> transque caput jace, ...
>
> Eclogues, VIII.101-102

However earlier in the poem Alphesiboeus had taken three threads and walked around an altar three times (Eclogues, VIII.73-75). The Eclogue also contains the famous tag "numero deus impare gaudet" (VIII.75). In this context it is significant that the poem by Campion has three stanzas. The triple knot is also Virgilian,

> terna tibi primum triplici diversa colore
> licia circumdo, ...
>
> VIII.73-74

---

1. The Works of Thomas Campion, ed. Walter R. Davis (1969).

Virgil's shepherd burns vervain and frankincense (VIII.65) Campion may have decided to make the line more sinister by his phrase "poys'nous weeds" because he knew of the association of vervain with witchcraft.[1] It is equally probable that the poet was thinking of the bubbling and frothing ingredients of Medea's cauldron (Metamorphoses, VII.261-265), for there is another definite borrowing from this favourite locus of English writers. Although a screech-owl is mentioned in the Virgilian Eclogue (VIII.55), Campion drew on one of the ingredients of Medea's cauldron, "strigis infamis ... alas", for his "screech-owles fethers". The cypress with its associations of death has already been noted above in connexion with Drayton and Heywood as a suitable ingredient for a magician's potion.[2] The detail of the enchanted chair as a means of imprisoning a reluctant lover may be compared with Delia sitting in a chair in an enchanted sleep in Peele's Old Wives' Tale.[3] The fairies are traditionally English. Thus Campion in his imitation has taken from the classical poem a form (a witchcraft by enchantment poem) and a few details, and added some more from an English native tradition.

The second imitation is Sestine V in Barnabe Barnes' Parthenophil and Parthenope. Barnes has taken Eclogues, VIII as a model and produced a rambling imitation of the magical section. Borrowings from Eclogues, VIII are used side by side with some from Metamorphoses, VII. Details taken from the Virgilian Eclogue are as follows.

> And with male franckincense on the alter kindled
> Poems, ed. Grosart, p.143

and the later mention of "Vervine" (Grosart, p.144) are taken from Virgil's

> verbenasque adole pingues et mascula tura,
> Eclogues, VIII.65

---

1. Gerard says that many odd tales of witchcraft and sorcery are told of the plant and that the devil himself had recommended it as a medicine. Herball, p.581.
2. "Cypresse gathered at a dead mans grave" comes close to the "cupressos funebris" used by Canidia in Horace, Epodes, V.18.
3. Ed. Frank S. Hook, stage-direction preceding line 844. The enchanted chairs of literature may well have a classical precedent in the splendid silver chair in which Circe made Odysseus sit. Odyssey, X.314ff.

Barnes' lines

> This lace ...
> I binde, and strewe, and with sadde sighes and teares
> About I beare her Image raging woode.
> ...
> I knitte three true lovers knottes (this is loves night)
> Of three discolour'd silkes, to make her woode,
> Poems, ed. Grosart, p.144

come from

> terna tibi haec primum triplici diversa colore
> licia circumdo, terque haec altaria circum
> effigiem duco;
> Eclogues, VIII.73-75

The lines

> Beare golden Apples thornes in every woode,
> ...
> Let Alder trees beare Apricockes (dye furies)
> And Thistles Peares, ... pp. 145-146

ring a few botanical changes on the Virgilian

> mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,
> Eclogues, VIII.53

In the Latin poem Alphesiboeus burns bay-twigs, "incende bitumine laurus"(VIII.82). In the English poem the lover burns cypress and tears bay-branches (p.143).

From Medea's rituals in Metamorphoses, VII Barnes took some details for his magic. The opening of the poem,

> Then, first with lockes disheveled, and bare,
> Straite guirded, in a chearefull calmie night:

and the invocation to Hecate and ritual sprinkling,

> I call on threefould Hecate with teares,
> And here (with loud voyce) invocate the furies:
> ...
> This wine aboute this aulter, to the furies
> I sprinkle, ...
> p.143

is drawn from the Ovidian description of Medea going out at night to invoke Hecate, and that of her ritual lustrations,

> ... postquam plenissima fulsit
> ac solida terras spectavit imagine luna,
> egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas,
> nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos,
> Metamorphoses, VII.180-183

> ter se convertit, ter sumptis flumine crinem
> inroravit aquis ternisque ululatibus ora
> solvit ...
> ibid., VII.189-191

Barnes' lover cuts rosemary with a brazen axe (Poems, p.143). Medea gathers magical herbs cut "curvamine falcis aenae" (Metamorphoses, VII.227).

Barnes has replaced the Virgilian refrain "ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim" with commands to a goat to fetch Parthenope,

> Hence goate and bring her to me raging woode:
> p.143
> Hence goate and bring her from her bedding bare:
> p.144

Now although the goat may be regarded as a piece of pastoral decorum, and indeed Virgil's Damon is a goatherd (Eclogues, VIII.33), the terms of the description of the animal and its functions suggest that Barnes is alluding to the transportation of witches on a goat. In fact the goat in the poem may be a demon bringing the unwilling mistress to the magician. The goat is instructed to bring Parthenope "from her bedding bare" (p.144). Parthenope finally comes carried through the air on a goat's back.

> Owles scritche, Dogges barke to see her carried bare,
> Wolves yowle, and cry: Bulles bellow through the wood,
> Ravens croape, now, now, I feele loves fiercest furies;
> See'st'e thou that blacke goate, brought this silent night,
> Through emptie cloudes by'th daughters of the night?
> See how on him she sittes, ...
> p.145

The witch in some Continental accounts of transvection was transported to the Sabbat on a variety of vehicles, including a goat.[1] Holland cites the French author Jean Bodin on the phenomenon,

> we reade that after their annointing, they are carried away, and sometimes without oyntments, upon a goate, ...
> A Treatise against Witchcraft, E3v

Bodin himself describes the practice of witches riding "sur un bouc" in the *Démonomanie* (II.iv, ff.84-84v). It is worth pointing out that the goat transporting Parthenope is male, "See how on him she sittes", agreeing with Bodin's description of "un bouc" (a billy-goat).

---

1. For mediaeval instances see Russell, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages, pp.211,236,237,245.

(4) The writings of Agrippa and Peter of Abano

Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim published his first book of occult philosophy in 1531. Two other books were added to it and the whole work was published as De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres in 1533. A pseudo-Agrippan fourth book, giving more detailed and practical instructions for conjuring, was soon circulating under his name. Thorndike, who thought the fourth book to be Agrippan, considered the additions to have been made in either 1565 or 1567,[1] and at any rate Johann Wier, Agrippa's sometime pupil and amanuensis, defended Agrippa from the attribution of the work to him in De Praestigiis (1566).[2] The three books of the De Occulta became a standard text for students of magic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the spurious Liber Quartus being perhaps even more popular.[3] All four "Agrippan" books were at some time in the sixteenth century bound together with the Heptameron of Peter of Abano and other magical works. A volume containing all these works exists at the British Museum bearing the fictitious imprint, "LUGDUNI, PER BE/ringos fratres" (BM 232.1.5). A two-volume edition of the Opera of Agrippa also contains all the above-mentioned treatises. The date of this edition is similarly difficult to fix precisely.

The chronology of the printings of the Agrippan magical works and the Heptameron is problematic. J. Ferguson thought an edition of the Agrippan works with other magical works to belong to the last years of the sixteenth century or the early years of the seventeenth, and the collected works not before 1565.[4] McKerrow, in his edition of Barnabe Barnes' The Devil's

1. History of Magic and Experimental Science, Vol.V,p.136
2. R.B. McKerrow in his edition of Barnabe Barnes, The Devil's Charter, p.xii.
3. Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought, pp.324-325.
4. Bibliographical Notes on the Treatise "De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientarum" and "De Occulta Philosophia" of Cornelius Agrippa, pp.17-19.

There is, in the library of St. John's College, Oxford, a volume almost identical with the B.M. volume just mentioned. This is St. John's College, LL 2 / g. 6. 21. It contains all the works that are to be found in B.M. 232. l. 5. The contents and the pagination in both the St. John's and B.M. copies are the same. Minor differences may be found in the wording and type of the title-page, for example, part of the title-page in B.M. 232. l. 5. reads "Quibus accesserunt, Heptameron Petri de Abano.", whereas St. John's LL 2 / g. 6. 21. reads "QVIBVS ACCESSERVNT, / Spurius AGRIPPAE Liber de Ceremonijs, / Magicio. / Heptameron Petri de Albano." The St. John's copy bears the imprint, "PARISIIS, EX OFFI- / cina Iacobi Dupuys / 1567." I am grateful to Mr K. V. Thomas of St. John's College, for bringing this volume to my attention.

The three books of the De Occulta, the pseudo-Agrippan Liber quartus, and the Heptameron of Peter of Abano were therefore available in one volume from 1567 onwards.

affixed a strip of paper reading

> <C> olde hill in ~~hampsher~~ Sussex. / Owin Lordinge of Boxgrove / discringe it. ffebrary. 13, 1600 / at the howre of 4 a clocke in / the afternoone beinge friday / George Stent. p(re)se(n)t

From the insistence of the inscription on the exact date of writing ("discringe"), I suggest that this conjuring-book was made in an astrologically appropriate time, i.e., 4.00 p.m., Friday 13th., February 1600. This conjuring-book is a compilation of extracts from all four occult books and the Heptameron. Fol.1v presents a magic circle enclosing a square containing a representation of Christ among the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse (Vulgate, Revelation I.xii-xvi). This must have been made on the instructions of the Liber Quartus, pp:536-537,[1] which suggests the making of a "pentacle" containing "figura majestatis Dei, sedentis in throno, habentis in ore gladium bis acutum ...". Fol.2-2v present a magic number-square and characters of the moon from De Occulta, II.xxii, and the characters of the moon and appropriate Hebrew names of God from the same chapter of Agrippa. However the character of the angel Gabriel (f.2) comes from the Heptameron, p.571. Similar combinations of details from the De Occulta and the Heptameron may be observed in each of the sections on the various planets.

To sum up, all the "Agrippan" books were circulating in print in England in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Dr Caius' manuscript shows that the Liber Quartus was bound with the Heptameron before 1573, and that the book was also circulating in England. Harl. Ms. 2267 suggests the popularity of all these magical works, and their existence in one volume before 1600.

---

1. All references to the De Occulta, the Liber Quartus and the Heptameron are taken from the volume described above (BM 232.1.5), bearing the fictitious imprint of the Beringi brothers at Louvain.

Agrippa was well-known in England. There was a translation of his De Nobilitate Foeminei Sexu by David Clapam printed in 1545, and a translation of De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientarum by James Sanford printed in 1569. The translator's preface to the latter reveals that legends were already circulating about Agrippa. He excelled all others in magic and died a miserable death attended by a demon in the shape of a black dog. Coxe in his Short Treatise (1561) has the black dog story even earlier. Coxe does not commit himself to the details of Cornelius' death, but hints darkly that he very likely died "after some straunge sorte".[1] The 1582 edition of Batman uppon Bartholome confusingly calls him "a Spaniard of excellent learning" and pillages the De Occulta for information on the four elements. Scot and Worsop saw him as an opponent of astrology.[2] Agrippa was still a favourite with writers in the seventeenth century when they wanted to paint a magician who had retracted his views on magic, this being the universal interpretation of the De Vanitate.[3] English Archbishops were not above reading the De Occulta. Thomas Cranmer's autograph is on the title-page of a 1533 edition in the British Museum. Matthew Parker's copy was among the books he left to Corpus Christi College Cambridge, of which he was sometime Master, and Christopher Marlowe sometime scholar.

There are references to Agrippa as a magician by Nashe, Lyly and Marlowe, among many others. Nashe introduces him into The Unfortunate Traveller as the greatest conjuror in Christendom who showed Thomas More

---

1. Coxe, Short Treatise, B4.
2. Scot, Discoverie, XI.xxi, p.211; Edward Worsop, Discoverie of Sundrie Errours, Fv.
3. Cotta, Short Discoverie, II.iv, p.109; Alexander Roberts, Treatise, p.79.

the destruction of Troy in a dream and showed the Earl of Surrey Geraldine in a glass.[1] This tale is used by Michael Drayton in Englands Heroicall Epistles.[2] Drayton probably found the story in Nashe. Lyly refers to the dancing of Agrippa's shadows.[3]

The reputation of Agrippa as an author containing detailed instructions for magical ceremonies and the accretion of spectacular stories about his name must have made him the obvious authority from whom writers could draw for the portrayal of ceremonialists. I suggest that it was from Agrippa that both Marlowe and Greene obtained most of the magical material not contained in their prose sources, for Doctor Faustus and Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.

Marlowe of course knew of Agrippa and some of the legends circulating about him, specifically those concerning his ability to bring up the shadows of the dead.[4] The name of one of Faustus' German instructors in magic, "Cornelius", is also suggestive, especially in the light of the extract from King James' preface to the Daemonologie cited above. James put CORNELIUS in capital letters, not Agrippa, a practice he seems to have reserved for the names by which his authorities were best known, such as Bodin and Wier. The names of Faust and Agrippa were already associated by 1599, when Martin del Rio writes that they were both notorious for paying innkeepers with coins that turned to filth or leaves.[5]

---

1. Thomas Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, Works, ed. McKerrow, Vol.II, p.252ff.
2. Drayton, Works, Vol.II, Henry Howard to the Lady Geraldine, 59ff.
3. Works, Vol.II, Campaspe, The Prologue at the Court, 13-15.
4. Faustus, i.144-145.
5. Del Rio, Disquisitiones Magicae, cited by Nauert, p.328.

Paul Kocher has observed that magic, with its dreams of transcendent power, must have had a strong imaginative appeal for Marlowe.[1] Agrippa sings of the magician as demi-god. His writings moved "I.P.B. Cantabrigiae" to exclaim in prefatory verses to Robert Turner's English translation of the Liber Quartus in 1655,

> Behold Agrippa mounting th'lofty skies,
> Talking with gods; ...
> Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, sig.b

If Marlowe had read Agrippa, as I suggest, what a kindred spirit he would have found in the man who wrote, in a letter to Hermanus of Westphalia prefatory to the third and most magical of the books of the De Occulta,

> But the understanding of Divine things, purgeth the mind from errors, and rendreth it Divine, giveth infallible power to our works, and driveth far the deceits and obstacles of all evil spirits, and together subjects them to our commands; Yea it compels even good Angels and all the powers of the world unto our service viz. the virtue of our works being drawn from the Archetype himself, To whom when we ascend, all creatures neccessarily obey us, and all the quire of heaven do follow us; ...
> Three Books of Occult Philosophy (1651), p.342

Agrippa's aspirations to divinity through magic have left their mark on specific passages. He writes of magicians,

> ... ac theologicis istis virtutibus elevati, imperant elementis, pellunt nebulas, citant ventos, cogunt nubes in pluvias, ...
> De Occulta, III.vi, p.321

Faustus states,

> ... Emperors and Kings,
> Are but obey'd in their severall Provinces:
> Nor can they raise the winde, or rend the clouds:
> Faustus, i.84-86

The Bad Angel exhorts Faustus,

> Be thou on earth as Jove is in the skye,
> Lord and commander of these elements.
> Faustus, i.103-104

---

1. Christopher Marlowe, p.138. Kocher annotates the magical material with great erudition. However he suggests no specific source, and a large number of his authorities post-date the play.

Many of Faustus' dreams of operation by the aid of spirits appealed personally to Marlowe, - clothing the scholars with silk[1] - or to his audience, especially the anti-Spanish references, - chasing the Spanish governor from the Netherlands,[2] pirating Spanish ships,[3] or inventing engines like those used at Antwerp.[4] Kocher[5] finds analogues for these, mainly from the conjuring-book, Verus Jesuitarum Libellus (Paris, 1508).[6] I have discovered no evidence in the period suggesting a knowledge of this work on the part of poets and dramatists, or for that matter on the part of any treatise-writers. Other references, like those to building a bridge through the air and making a brazen wall, are the material of traditional romances. Virgilius makes a bridge through the air, and the wall of brass is of course an exploit of Bacon's.[7]

If Marlowe had been reading Agrippa, he might well have read him in conjunction with Peter of Abano, whom Marlowe mentions as a magical authority,

> Then hast thee to some solitary Grove,
> And beare wise Bacons and Abanus workes,
> Faustus, i.180-181

Bowers, as the footnote to these lines in his edition reveals, took Greg's suggestion[8] that "Albanus", the reading of the A and B texts, was an error of Marlowe's

---

1. Faustus, i.117-118.
2. ibid., i.119-120.
3. ibid., i.157-159.
4. ibid., i.122-124.
5. Christopher Marlowe, pp.138-172.
6. Reprinted in Scheible, Das Kloster, Vol.II, p.836ff.
7. Early English Prose Romances, ed. W.J. Thoms, contains the romances of Virgilius and Bacon. Virgilius' bridge is described Vol.II, p.45. Ethel Seaton, "Marlowe's Light Reading", in Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies presented to F.P. Wilson (Oxford, 1959), suggests Marlowe's extensive light reading of popular romances.
8. Marlowe's Doctor Faustus, 1604-1616, pp.307-308.

or a corruption taken over by B from A. He suggests that the form may be due to a confusion of "Abanus" with "Albertus", that is, Albertus Magnus. "Albanus" is however the reading of AB 1-6. The title-page to the volume with the fictitious imprint of the Beringi brothers at once lends support to the theory that it was a volume of this type Marlowe read, and that there is authority for the reading "Albanus". Among the contents the title-page includes "Heptameron Petri de Albano". I have not seen this form of Abano's name elsewhere. As well as suggesting that it was this collection of magical works which provided information for Faustus, this detail should settle the dispute of annotators whether it is Peter of Abano or Albertus Magnus that is meant by "Albanus" or "Abanus". Marlowe's coupling of Abano with Bacon is further evidence of a knowledge of Agrippa who, in an epistle to Abbot Trithemius, links their names, "Rogerium Bachonem, Robertum Anglicum, Petrum Apponum".[1] The Heptameron would have provided Marlowe with information on the abilities of the spirits of the days of the week, which he could then transform into the poetry of i.105-124 and i.150-160.

> Spiritus aeris diei Dominicae ... Eorum natura est aurum, gemmas, carbunculos, divitias,... impetrare: ...
> Heptameron, p.571

> I'le have them flie to India for gold;
> Ransacke the Ocean for Orient Pearle,
> Faustus, i.109-110

> [the spirits of Monday] secreta praesentia & praeterita personarum, dicere, ...
> Heptameron, p.573

> And tell the secrets of all forraine Kings:
> Faustus, i.114

The description of the spirits of Tuesday contains a general suggestion for Faustus' military ambitions,

---

1. De Occulta, Preface to Trithemius, sigs.∝4v-∝5

> ... praelia, mortalitates, occisiones & combustiones facere: & bis mille milites dare ad tempus, ...
> Heptameron, p.575

> [the spirits of Wednesday] experimenta, & omnes scientias ... docere: ...
> ibid., p.577

> I'le have them read me strange Philosophy,
> Faustus, i.113

The passage in Faustus (i.154-156) on spirits appearing as beautiful women would have been suggested by the abilities of the spirits of Friday,

> homines excitare, & procliviores reddere ad luxuriam, inimicos per luxuriam concordare, & matrimonia facere, homines in amorem mulierum allicere, ...
> Heptameron, p.581

In the conjuration scene and the conjuration itself, which is an elegant Latin confection of Marlowe's, the playwright nevertheless follows Agrippa. Cornelius in the De Occulta, III.xxxi appeals to the Neoplatonists on the subject of praying and sacrificing to demons.

> Hinc docent Iamblichus & Porphyrius, oportere sacros daemones invocantem, unumquemque proprio honore prosequi, & distribuere singulis quod cuique convenit, ex gratiis, oblationibus, donis, sacrificiis, verbis, characteribus, ...
> De Occulta, III.xxxi, p.395

So Marlowe has Faustus praying and sacrificing to demons.[1] West[2] and Kocher[3] disagree on the implications of this passage. West must be correct in that he sees in this, as does Agrippa, and Marlowe in his reading of Agrippa, no necessary subjection of the magician to demons. However Kocher must surely also be correct in his estimation of an audience's response to these lines. Marlowe, I think, understood the rationale of magicians, especially Agrippan ceremonialists, in prayer to demons. Faustus at this point, and for some time later, has pretensions to controlling demons. On this interpretation the apparent logic of it

---

1. Faustus, iii.235.
2. Invisible World, p.129ff.
3. Christopher Marlowe, pp.153f., 170f.

> And try if devils will obey thy Hest,
> Seeing thou hast pray'd and sacrific'd to them.
> Faustus, iii.233-234

makes sense, an interpretation which

> By which the spirits are inforc'd to rise:
> ibid., iii.241

supports.

Similarly, in Agrippan terms, anagrammatizing Jehovah's name implies no blasphemous rejection of the Deity. Manipulation of the Divine Names was an accepted Cabbalistic practice, and one taken over by Cabbalistically influenced magicians. West[1] and Kocher[2] cite the Agrippan section (III.xxv) on manipulation of verses in Exodus to produce the Schemhamphoras, the great name of God. Alternatively there is a more specific source in the De Occulta, in the section dealing with the potencies of numbers, to each of which is assigned a name of God. The scale of the number twelve presents visibly on the page, twelve anagrammatized versions of the Divine Name usually represented by the English "Jehovah". The Hebrew Tetragrammaton (IHVH) is here anagrammatized to produce twelve new names of power.[3] The Tetragrammaton is easily the most recognisable of the Hebrew divine names, and was popular in engraved frontispieces to represent the Deity.[4] In this context I take "valeat numen triplex Johovae" to mean "may the triple power of 'Jehovah' prevail". A passage particularly illuminating on "numen triplex" is De Occulta, II.vii, on the potency of the number four.

> Therefore a four square is ascribed to God the Father, and also contains the mysterie of the whole Trinity: ... Hence that superexcellent, and great name of the divine Trinity in God is written with four letters, viz. Iod, He, and Vau; ...
> Three Books of Occult Philosophy (1651), II.vii, p.183

In Agrippa the Trinity is especially associated with the Tetragrammaton.

---

1. Invisible World, p.251 note 53.
2. Christopher Marlowe, p.155.
3. De Occulta, II.xiv [wrongly capitulated as "xiii"], pp.198-199.
4. Especially in Bibles. See McKerrow and Ferguson, Title-page Borders in England and Scotland 1485-1640 (1932), figs. 31 and 203.

The "breviated names of holy saints" has never been satisfactorily explained. Kocher[1] cites the Verus Jesuitarum Libellus on the use of the names of the Evangelists in conjuration, but finds "breviated" difficult. In his section on "characteres" (III.xxx), Agrippa suggests a method of obtaining magical characters by compressing the names of angels into monograms. The example he uses and displays on the page is the name of the Archangel Michael in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. Since Michael could be said to be the only angel to retain his sanctity in Elizabethan England, it is Michael's monogram that suggested Marlowe's "breviated names of holy saints".

The lines,

> Figures of every adjunct to the heavens,
> And Characters of Signes, and erring Starres,
> Faustus, iii.240

although undoubtedly suggested by the English Faust Book,

> ... he made with a wand a Circle in the dust, and within that many more Circles and Characters: ...
> Palmer and More, Sources of the Faust Tradition, p.137

has been fleshed out from Agrippa, II.lii, which gives characters for the Zodiacal signs, stars and planets. Agrippa gives complicated characters for constellations, these no doubt comprising "every adjunct to the heavens" (iii.239).[2]

The conjuration itself, which has been suggested to be Marlowe's own invention, nevertheless follows Agrippa, who, on the page following the citation of the Neoplatonists on sacrifice to demons, refers to Apuleius,

> ... sed dumtaxat sacris quibusdam obstestari, ut apud Apuleium legimus, per coelestia sidera, per inferna numina, per naturalia elementa, ...
> De Occulta, III.xxxii, p.396

---

1. Christopher Marlowe, p.155-156.
2. Johnstone Parr, "Characters in Faustus' magic circle", in Tamburlaine's Malady and other essays on Astrology in Elizabethan Drama, refers to De Occulta, I.xxxii on this passage.

With this compare the opening lines of Faustus' invocation,

> Sint mihi Acherontis propitii, ... Ignei, Aerii, Aquatici, Terreni, spiritus salvete: ...
> Faustus, iii.244-245

"obtestari" perhaps suggesting "Sint ... propitii". Agrippa has references to the Cross and holy water in De Occulta, III.lxiii. Devils fear the sign of the Cross and can be made to bow the knee to it.

Similarly I would suggest that the influence of Agrippan writings on magic is discernible in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. Scene ix.24ff. contains the debate of Vandermast and Bungay on the respective merits of the elemental spirits of fire and earth. This section is not to be found in the source that critics have considered must have been used by Greene, i.e., The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon.[1] The Famous Historie contains a magical contest involving Hercules and the Tree of the Hesperides, but no debate. James Dow McCallum[2] has suggested that the debate reflects Giordano Bruno's skirmish with the scholars of Oxford during his visit in 1583. He argues that Greene, who was up at Cambridge in 1583, must have known of Bruno's visit, and that his Cena de la Ceneri, Dialogue IV, has some resemblances to the debate. It would seem that we have no certain way of knowing if Greene did know of Bruno's visit, but the resemblances of the Cena to the magicians' debate seem slight. Bruno discusses the relative positions of the planets and the Copernican and Ptolemaic models, but not the ratio of the elemental spheres. Mention is made of the elements fire and water, but rather as hot and cold principles. Nothing is said of daemons or demons.

As a piece of argument, and Assarsson-Rizzi has

---

1. Reprinted in Thoms, Early English Prose Romances, Vol.I.
2. "Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay", MLN, 35 (1920), pp.212-217.

rhetorical formality,[1] the passage makes sense, in spite of the fact that Greene misuses his basic terms, "pyromancy" and "geomancy". Correctly understood they are forms of divination, pyromancy by flames, flashes of fire and the tails of comets, and geomancy by a series of dots or by the creakings of the earth. Agrippa describes these methods of divination in De Occulta, I.lvii. Greene in the debate takes the terms to mean operation by means of the elementals, although he knew the proper meaning, as he displays earlier in the play in a speech by Burden.

> Bacon, we hear that long we have suspect,
> That thou art read in magic's mystery;
> In pyromancy to divine by flames;
> To tell by hydromantic ebbs and tides;
> By aeromancy to discover doubts,
> To plain out questions, as Apollo did.
> Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, ed. Daniel Seltzer, i.13-18

This passage in fact bears resemblances to De Occulta, I.lvii, the passage describing divination by the elements,

> Ita etiam Pyromantia divinatur per impressiones igneas, ...
> De Occulta, I.lvii, p.114
>
> Hydromantia autem vaticinia praestat, per impressiones aqueas, illarumque fluxus & refluxus, [Burden's "ebbs and tides"]
> ibid., I.lvii, p.113

In spite of the trinity of magical authorities, "Hermes, Melchie, and Pythagoras",[2] and Greene's attribution of dicta to Trismegistus,[3] I believe Agrippa to be the source for most of the details in the argument, although the argument itself is Greene's. I have found nothing in Ficino's edition of the Pimander and Asclepius resembling the "quotations" from Hermes.

The three authorities occur among others in De Occulta, I.ii. Magic was brought to light by sage

---

1. op cit., pp.103-104.
2. Friar Bacon, ix.29.
3. ibid., ix.50.

authors, and they were followed by others, "ut Trismegistus Mercurius, Porphyrius, ..." Other renowned philosophers travelled far to learn the Art, Pythagoras and Plato journeying to Memphis. The next chapter (I.iii) treats of the four elements and their qualities. Their ratio to one another is expressed by Agrippa in geometrical terms. Fire, the greatest, is twice as thin as air, three times as moveable, and four times as bright. And so down the scale of elements to earth, the lowest.

> Quemadmodum itaque se habet ignis ad aerem, sic aer ad aquam, & aqua ad terram: ...
> De Occulta, I.iii, p.6

Without the perfect knowledge of the elements, says Agrippa in I.iv, we can effect nothing in magic. The next chapter, I.v, "De mirabilibus ignis, ac terrae naturis", sings the praises of the element fire, starting,

> Ad omnium mirabilium operationem, ait Hermes, duo sufficiunt, ignis & terra: ...

so Hermes is kept continually before the reader. Fire is boundless and invisible. Pythagoras says that it penetrates all things. It drives away the spirits of darkness. The emphasis of these early chapters on magical operation by means of the elements explains the use of "pyromantic" and "geomantic" in the debate, while Burden's use of the terms was drawn from the later section of the De Occulta.

Here are the raw materials of Friar Bacon, ix.28-36. Two details of the phrasing, the earth being a "punctum squared to the rest" and the concentricity of the elemental spheres, are commonplaces to the educated of the period. As to the first,

> For ages men had known, and poets had emphasized, the truth that earth in relation to the universe, is infinitesimally small: to be treated, said, Ptolemy, as a mathematical point. (Almagest, I.v).
> C.S. Lewis, English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, p.3

Lyly produces the idea as an aside in Euphues,

> How can any part of the world be distant farre from the other, when as the Mathematicians set downe that the earth is but a pointe being compared to the heavens.
> Works, ed. Bond, Vol.I, p.314, lines 13-15

As to the second detail, Marlowe alludes to the concentric spheres of the ascending elements,

> As are the elements, such are the heavens,
> Even from the Moone unto the Emperiall Orbe,
> Mutually folded in each others Spheares,
> Faustus, vi.589-591

The second section of Agrippa which it is suggested that Greene used is De Occulta, III.xviii-xix, which deals with the fall of the angels into the elements. Hermes appears again, as he sang of the fall of the devil in the Pimander, at least such was Agrippa's interpretation. Devils now wander about in the obscure air or inhabit the bowels of the earth,

> ... alii terras, terrestria territant, & qui puteos, & metalla effodiunt, invadunt: hiatus terrae provocant, montium fundamenta concutiunt, ...
> De Occulta, III.xviii, p.362

With this compare Greene's

> But earthly fiends, clos'd in the lowest deep,
> Dissever mountains, if they be but charg'd
> Friar Bacon, ix.53-54

The next chapter of the De Occulta (III.xix) asserts the superiority of fiery demons. It is easy for these elementals to change their shapes, but more difficult for the subterranean.

> ... subterranei aũt tenebrosi daemones, quia eorum phantasticum crassi & inagilis corporis angustiis concluditur, eam nequit efficere diversitatem figurãm, quam caeteri.
> De Occulta, III.xix, p.366

So Greene knew of the greater ability of higher elementals to change their shape (ix.37-38), and the comparative grossness and dullness of the terrestrial spirits (ix.55,68).

The other passage in the play giving some magical exposition is Bacon's speech of repentance for his career as a ceremonialist. If Greene had been reading Agrippa's De Occulta, he might have read it with the Liber Quartus and the Heptameron, which are full of instructions emphasizing the sacerdotal nature of the

magician. They advise the operator to use holy and consecrated instruments, "quales sunt sacre chartae".[1] Friar Bacon confesses to the use of "papers full of nigromantic charms".[2] The Heptameron in the section "De veste & pentaculo" suggests "Vestis sit sacerdotalis, si fieri potest".[3] Bacon conjured in

> ... stole and albe and strange pentaganon,
> Friar Bacon, xiii.91

Bacon's "pentageron" or "pentaganon"[4] was incidentally a weapon he would have brandished at recalcitrant fiends, rather than a diagram drawn on the ground.[5]

The play John of Bordeaux exists in an unique manuscript, which seems to be written from dictation. It also bears the marks of being cut.[6] The present assumption is that the play is from the hand of Greene, for a number of allusions in the play depend on a knowledge of Friar Bacon. The name of the demon "Asteroth" or "Astmeroth" is to be found in both plays, and in both he is ruler of the north.[7] Astaroth's short demand to Vandermast, "quid me vis", (John of Bordeaux, 652) may be compared with the spirit in the shape of Hercules' question to Vandermast in Friar Bacon, "Quis me vult?" (Friar Bacon, ix.93). John of Bordeaux also contains an expository section of magical theory presented in dialogue form, comparable with the debate in Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. I suggest that the source

---

1. Liber Quartus, p.551.
2. Friar Bacon, xiii.89.
3. Heptameron, p.560.
4. The form "pentagonum" can be found in the Liber Quartus, p.552.
5. Cf. the Heptameron on ways of making demons docile, "ostende illis pentaculum". p.567.
6. John of Bordeaux (MSR), pp.ix-xii.
7. Friar Bacon, xi.106; John of Bordeaux, 1132.

is again Agrippa's De Occulta. An audience would know from the first Friar Bacon play of the destruction of the magician's perspective glass. A means had to be provided for characters to see events taking place at a distance, a feat achieved in the play by the Emperor (449ff.), the Scholar (747ff.), and Rosalind (1014ff.), with the aid of Bacon's magic. In his instruction of the Scholar, Bacon explains the mechanics of the operation. The text is confused at this point and some of the words are marked for deletion.

Agrippa De Occulta, III.1, 'De raptu & extasi', describes the release of the soul from the body as a result of the contemplation of divine things.

> Huius causa est in nobis continua contemplatio sublimiorum, ...
> De Occulta, III.1, p.454

Bacon says,

> ... then gines the mynd to worke of thinges devine...
> John of Bordeaux, 738-739

This contemplation, Agrippa goes on, causes the soul to release itself from the body "veheliementioribus suis agitationibus",[1] a line comparable with Bacon's "it tremling workes upon the movers myght",[2] and the soul flies out of the body. Such is the power of the soul that it sometimes

> compedibus soluta extra corpus volitans ...
> De Occulta, III.1, p.455

> letes lose the Raynes of reson ...
> John of Bordeaux, 741

Many famous men used to abstract themselves. We read in Herodotus of the philosopher Atheus, whose soul used to leave his body and, having travelled over vast spaces, return more learned. Similarly, according to Pliny, Harman Clazomenius used to wander without his body and bring back tidings of things far

---

1. De Occulta, III.1, p.455.
2. John of Bordeaux, 739.

off.[1] So, under Bacon's instruction, the Scholar beholds Hapsburg and Ravenna in rapture. Cicero, Agrippa continues, says that the soul rapt from the body gains knowledge from inspection of the Ideas and their light, not from species. Bacon's scholar exclaims

> and now in shadose I be hould no more but se
> in substaunce what trew wisdom is...
> John of Bordeaux, 744-745

As for other details in this confused and confusing speech, the comparison, marked for deletion in the manuscript, between the beginning of (the?) Art with the mechanics of fascination is enigmatic.[2] The point of the comparison seems to be that entry into Art is as elusive as the air that is the vehicle transferring the fascinatio from the "Carlies"[3] eye. The sequence of thought changes direction, perhaps suggesting two ideas violently yoked together, as fascination by a witch can hardly lead to rapture and divine illumination. The mechanics of fascination were well-known, but it is worth mentioning that Agrippa has a chapter on them (De Occulta, I.1), the opening of which concisely gives all the information contained in John of Bordeaux.

> Fascinatio est ligatio, quae ex spiritu fascinantis per oculos fascinati ad cor ipsius ingressa pervenit. Fascinationis autem instrumentum spiritus est, scilicet vapor quidam purus, lucidus, subtilis, ...
> De Occulta, I.1, pp.90-91

In Agrippa too (De Occulta, III.xxii) can be found a chapter on the bonus genius of each man, and its duty in illuminating him.

The magical details of the conjuration scene in The Devil's Charter (IV.i) are taken from Peter of Abano's Heptameron. McKerrow's edition gives detailed references to the parts of the Heptameron used by Barnes. McKerrow also notes that the description of the ascent of a spirit in a stage-direction,

---

1. De Occulta, III.1, p.455.
2. John of Bordeaux, 735-736.
3. OED, "Carlin: a woman esp. an old one, often implying contempt or disparagement, ... b. Applied particularly to a witch..."

> ... ascend a King, with a red face crowned
> imperiall riding upon a Lyon, or dragon: ...
> Devil's Charter, ed. McKerrow, IV.i.1764-1765

was probably inspired by a description of the forms taken by solar spirits in the Liber Quartus (pp.532-533). Further to this, it can be suggested that the ascent of another spirit,

> ... ascends another all in armor.
> Devil's Charter, IV.i.1790

also draws on the Liber Quartus, where one of the forms taken by the spirits of Mars in "Vir armatus".[1] Alternatively Mercurial spirits take "forma humana instar militis armati".[2] Barnes' fondness for giving his spirits crowns and maces[3] may be explained by reference to the Liber Quartus on the "characters" of evil spirits. From the crown we deduce dignity, from the sceptre authority.[4]

In the conjuration scene Barnes, having apparently taken trouble to get the magical names of angels, seasons, planets and hours, and even the suffumigation appropriate to midnight on a Sunday in summer, then gives a conjuration from the Heptameron for Tuesday.[5] Presumably only a magus devoted to Abano's ritual would notice the error. Perhaps Barnes, like many others, was struck by the tediousness of finding out the correct consideration, and became tired of labouring like a collier's horse.

Other borrowings from the Liber Quartus that McKerrow failed to notice are as follows. The devil that ascended as an armed man said that he was sent by a monarch (probably Varcan)

> Who rides tryumphing in a charriot,
> on misty blacke clouds mixt with quenchles fire,
> Devil's Charter, IV.i.1793-1794

---

1. Liber Quartus, p.532.
2. ibid., p.534.
3. Devil's Charter, Prologue 42, IV.i.1742-1743, 1765.
4. Liber Quartus, pp. 528-530.
5. Heptameron, p.575. In view of Faustus' use of the name "Jehovah", it is worth remarking that in this scene another magician uses the Tetragrammaton, this time pronouncing each of the three constituent letters individually.

This may owe something to a description of the spirits of the moon whose colour is like "nubes obscurae & tenebrosae". After the invocation which, as was noted above, is appropriate to Tuesday, a spirit arises and complains of being disturbed from

> ... strong busines of high state,
> From sure subversions and mutations
> Of mighty Monarches, Emperors and Kings,
> From plotting bloody feilds and massacres,
> Triumphant treasons and assasinates.
> Devil's Charter, IV.i.1773-1777

We read of the spirits of Tuesday,

> Eorum natura est praelia, mortalitates,
> occisiones & combustiones facere: ...
> Heptameron, p.575

Alexander in despair quotes confusedly from Psalm XXII.xix-xx, in the Bishops' Bible version, where the Psalmist cries out in affliction.[1] The devil's cynical comment

> He charmes in Davids words with Judas spirit,
> Devil's Charter, V.vi.3206

is explicable by the fact that Barnes would have read in the Liber Quartus

> Furthermore, if there be any Versicle in the Psalms, or in any other part of Holy Scripture, that shall seem congruent and agreeable to our desire, the same is to be mingled with our prayers.
> Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy, p.51

Use is made in the Liber Quartus of Psalms V and CIX.

Passages in V.vi that McKerrow in his edition found inexplicable and even without meaning, Barnes translated from De Occulta, III.xxxvi-xxxvii. McKerrow's confusion over these passages is understandable as Barnes took them from a long discursive chapter, "De homine quomodo creatus ad imaginem Dei", and translated them badly. Agrippa's argument in III.xxxvi may be summarised briefly. It is a celebration of the excellence of man and is heavily influenced by Cornelius' reading of the Hermetica.

---

1. The Devil's Charter, V.vi ["Scen. Ultima"]. 3201-3202.
2. Liber Quartus, pp.536,548.

Man and the world were created as images of God, so man is also an image of the world ("mundus" in the sense, I think, of "the universe"). In short, as God comprehends the world in his mind, so man, says Agrippa in a moment of astonishing hubris,

> ... acteth with all, and hath power over all, even on God himself, by knowing and loving him, ...
> Three Books of Occult Philosophy, III.xxxvi.p.460

This familiar Agrippan argument on the power of man through similitude to God is given to Alexander. The translation is almost verbatim, Barnes in some cases merely Anglicizing a Latin word, and thus producing such forms as "exuperant" and "quadrifarie". The relevant passages in The Devil's Charter and the De Occulta are as follows.

> Alex. Know then malignant Angell of confusion,
> My soule is a divine light first created
> In liknesse lively formed to the word,
> Which word was God,[1] that God the cause of causes,
> My soule is substance of the living God,
> Stampt with the seale of heaven, whose Carracter
> Is his eternall word, at which hell trembles.
> Devil's Charter, V.vi.3122-3128

> Anima humana est lux quaedam divina, ad imaginem verbi, causae causarum, primi exemplaris creata, substantia Dei, sigilloque figurata, cuius character est verbum aeternum.
> De Occulta, III.xxxvii, p.413

> Alex. Marke yet what I can answer for this soule.
> Mightie Jehovah most exuperant,
> Two creatures made in feature like himselfe,
> The world and man: world reasonable and immortall,
> Man reasonable, but dissoluble and mortall,
> And therefore man was called Microcosmus,
> The little world, and second tipe of God,
> Conteyning those high faculties and functions,
> And elements which are within the world.
> Man then that doth participate with all,
> Through operation, conversation, and simbolisation,
> With matter in the subject properly,
> With th'elements in body quadrifarie,
> With growing plants in vertue vegetative

---

1. Here Barnes interpolates from John I.i.

In sence with beasts; with heavens by th'influence
Of the superiour spirits into th'inferiour
In wisedome and capacitie with Angels,
With Eloym in that great continent,
Is without doubt preserved by that God,
Finding all things contained in himselfe.
Devil's Charter, V.vi.3133-3152

Exuperantissimus Deus (ut Trismegistus ait) duas sibi similes finxit imagines, mundum videlicet atque hominem: ... homo non simpliciter imago Dei creatus est, sed ad imaginem, quasi imaginis imago: iccirco microcosmus dictus est, hoc est, minor mundus. Mundus animal est rationale, immortale: homo similiter animal est rationale, sed mortale, hoc est, dissolubile. ... Homo itaque alter mundus vocatus est, & altera Dei imago: quia in seipso habet totum quod in majori mundo continetur, ... Itaque solus homo hoc honore gaudet, quod cum omnibus symbolum habet, & cum omnibus operationem, cum omnibus conversationem. Symbolizat cum materia, in proprio subjecto: cum elementis, in quadrifario corpore; cum plantis, in vegetativa virtute: cum animalibus, in sensitiva: cum coelis, in aethereo spiritu, atque influxu partium superiorum in inferiores: cum angelis, in intellectu, & sapientia: cum Deo, in omnium continentia: conservatur cum Deo & intelligentiis, ...
De Occulta, III.xxxvi, pp.405-407

Alex. Rest with this answer, that my soule is Gods
Whose habitacle is prepar'd in heaven.
First it doth know God being figured
According to that Image of himselfe,
And then the world whose lively shape it beares,
And to conclude, the soule of man knowes all,
Because with all things it doth simbolize,
For in this Man there is a minde intelligent,
A quickning word and a celestiall spirit,
That like a lightning every way diffused,
All things which are made by that mighty power,
Uniteth, moveth, and replenisheth.
Devil's Charter, V.vi.3170-3181

Quicunque igitur seipsum cognoverit, cognoscet in seipso omnia, cognoscet in primis Deum, ad cuius imaginem factus est: cognoscet mundum, cuius simulachrum gerit: cognoscet creaturas omnes, cum quibus symbolum habet: ... Mercurius etiam Trismegistus ... hominemque ad imaginem Dei factum, eandem trinitatem repraesentare ait. inest enim illi mens intelligens, & verbum vivificans, & spiritus tanquam fulgor divinus sese undique diffundens, omnia replens, movens & connectens: ...
De Occulta, III.xxxvi, pp.408-409

(5) Witchcraft treatises and accounts of trials

The major plays of witchcraft drawing on witchcraft treatises and accounts of trials all belong to the earlier seventeenth century. These are Macbeth, Middleton's The Witch, Dekker, Ford and Rowley's The Witch of Edmonton and The Late Lancashire Witches of Heywood and Brome. Since it will be suggested that the playwrights almost uniformly drew on a major source supplemented by one or more minor sources, it has been decided to treat the plays as the primary objects of investigation rather than describing the sources and identifying those sections on which the plays draw. This section will also first consider the use made by Shakespeare of Reginald Scot's Discoverie in two plays.

From the comments of annotators of Shakespeare's plays and those engaged in finding sources for them, the following information may be gathered. Scot's Discoverie was the probable source for the transformation in A Midsummer Night's Dream. The Discoverie offers closer resemblances to the play than Adlington's translation of Apuleius, The Golden Ass.[1] The Discoverie is also quoted by the Arden editor of I Henry VI in annotations to lines at the beginning of V.iii. Scot's work is also usually referred to on the subject of the magic of Glendower in I Henry VI.

No-one, as far as I know, has cited Scot with reference to the allusions and jokes about asses in The Comedy of Errors. The same distinction as that made by Bullough in his discussion of the sources of A Midsummer Night's Dream, that is, a decision on the respective claims of Apuleius and Scot, has to be made. Given the fondness of treatise-writers for classical sources, it is not surprising to find that Scot refers to Apuleius in his discussion.[2] I would not suggest that Apuleius was not in Shakespeare's mind when he wrote The Comedy

---

1. Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources, Vol.I. pp.372-373.
2. Discoverie, V.i.

of Errors, but I would suggest that Shakespeare had by the time he wrote The Comedy of Errors read one of the passages in Scot which Bullough gives as a probable source for A Midsummer Night's Dream, that is, Discoverie, V.iii. I would also suggest that the first five chapters of Book V of the Discoverie, which deal with the subject of transformations, offer material which illuminates passages in The Comedy of Errors.

When Antipholus of Syracuse arrives in Ephesus he expresses fears about the reputation of the inhabitants for magic. He has heard of the "cozenage" (a favourite word with Scot in the Discoverie) practised there. He remembers stories told of the Ephesians,

> They say this town is full of cozenage;
> As nimble jugglers that deceive the eye,
> Dark-working sorcerers that change the mind,
> Soul-killing witches that deform the body,
> Disguised cheaters, prating mountebanks,
> Comedy of Errors, I.ii.97-101

These lines embody ideas of transformation and trickery. Acts XIX, from which it is usually suggested that Shakespeare obtained the idea that the Ephesians were famous for magic, gives no specific details of Ephesian magic. In the ensuing confusion in the play between the two sets of Antipholus's and Dromios, Syracusan Dromio claims that he has been transformed and Luciana tells him it is into an ass.

> Dro. S. I am transformed, master, am I not?
> Ant. S. I think thou art in mind, and so am I.
> Dro. S. Nay, master, both in mind and in my shape.
> Ant. S. Thou hast thine own form.
> No, I am an ape.
> Luc. If thou art chang'd to aught, 'tis to an ass.
> Dro. S. 'Tis true; she rides me, and I long for grass.
> 'Tis so, I am an ass; else it could never be
> But I should know her as well as she knows me.
> Comedy of Errors, II.ii.194-201

In the next scene we find that Ephesian Dromio is called an ass.

> Ant. E. I think thou art an ass.
> Dro. E. Marry, so it doth appear
> By the wrongs I suffer and the blows I bear
> I should kick, being kick'd; and being at that pass,
> You would keepe from my heels, and beware of an ass.
>
> Comedy of Errors, III.i.15-18

Syracusan Dromio makes another reference to transformation into an ass at III.ii.77 and refers to being transformed into a curtal-dog at III.ii.144. In another passage Ephesian Dromio again complains of being beaten,

> I am an ass indeed; you may prove it by my long 'ears. I have served him from the hour of my nativity to this instant, and have nothing at his hands for my service but blows.
>
> Comedy of Errors, IV.iv.27ff

The Syracusans also suspect in the play that they have fallen among witches.

In the Discoverie, I.iii, Scot gives a tale from Bodin of a young English man who was turned into an ass. Like the Syracusans he arrived in a strange country (Cyprus). He bought some eggs from a woman, ate one and, ignorant of the fact that he had been transformed into an ass, tried to re-enter the ship which had brought him there.

> When he would have entred the ship, the mariners beat him backe with a cudgell, saieing; What a murren lacks the asse? Whether the divell will this asse? The asse or yoong man (I cannot tell by which name I should terme him) being many times repelled, and understanding their words that called him an asse, considering that he could speake never a word, and yet could understand everie bodie; he thought he was bewitched by the woman, at whose house he was. And therefore when by no meanes he could get into the boate, but was driven to tarrie and see hir departure; being also beaten from place to place, as an asse: he remembered the witches words, and the words of his owne fellowes that called him an asse, and returned to the witches house, in whose service he remained by the space of three yeares, dooing nothing with his hands all that while, but carried such burthens as she laied on his backe; ...
>
> Discoverie, V.iii, p.95

This passage with its details of the transformed man being continually beaten and finally pressed into

service, may be compared with the complaints of the two Dromios. It should be noted that it is Luciana, the strange woman in a strange country, who first suggests that it is an ass into which Syracusan Dromio has been transformed (II.iv.198). Syracusan Antipholus later appeals to Luciana, "Transform me, then, ...".[1] The detail of the longing of Syracusan Dromio for grass (II.ii.199) may be compared with allusions in Scot to the fact that Praestantius' father "did eate provender and haie among the horsses"[2] and Scot's argument that

> ... mans bodie must be fed with bread, &c: and not with hay, Bodinus asseheaded man must either eate haie, or nothing: as appeareth in the storie.
>
> Discoverie, V.v, p.99

Scot in his discussion of transformations also alludes to the Biblical narrative of Nebuchadnezzar[3] who ate grass like an ox.[4]

For Owen Glendower, editors of I Henry IV usually refer to Discoverie, XV. In XV.i Shakespeare found a sarcastic description of the pretensions of ceremonial magicians who claim to fetch devils up from hell and angels down from heaven, - Glendower's "spirits from the vasty deep".[5] XV.ii gives a list of demons with their names and functions which Scot obtained from the "Pseudomonarchia Daemonum" appended to Wier's De Praestigiis, probably through the intermediary manuscript of one "T.R.".[6] This lengthy catalogue prompted Hotspur's complaint that he had to listen for nine hours (a comic exaggeration unless Shakespeare intended Glendower to have narrated the names of the legions under the control of the demonic princes) to a list of the devils he had

---

1. Comedy of Errors, III.ii.40.
2. Discoverie, V.iii, p.96
3. ibid., V.i, p.92; V.vi, pp.101-102.
4. Daniel V.xxxii-xxxiii.
5. I Henry IV, III.i.53.
6. Discoverie, p.393, marginal note.

bound to do him service.[1] Discoverie, XV.ii-iii provides repetitions of the name of the demon "Amaymon", although it is the reference in XV.iii which is usually cited as an annotation to Falstaff's

> That same mad fellow of the north, Percy, and he of Wales that gave Amamon the bastinado, ...
> I.Henry IV, II.iv.325-327

It is tempting to suggest that Shakespeare introduced the name of the demon here prompted by an antithetical mental association between Hotspur, the "mad fellow of the north" and Amaymon, the demonic "king of the east".[2]

I have found no comment in any edition on Glendower's lines

> Which calls me pupil or hath read to me?
> And bring him out that is but woman's son
> Can trace me in the tedious ways of art
> III.i.46-48

In view of Glendower's association with Merlinic prophecy and the "dreamer Merlin", the phrase "but woman's son" can be illuminated by reference to the Discoverie, IV.x on the subject of Merlin, who was supposedly fathered by an incubus. Scot also mentions in I.iv that it was from the union of an incubus and a mortal that "yoong prophets" were begotten. Glendower sees himself as a prophet, a latter-day Merlin, with supernatural parentage.

Another possible reminiscence of Scot might be found in Hotspur's outburst against singing and poetry.

> I had rather be a kitten and cry mew
> Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers;
> I had rather hear a brazen canstick[3] turn'd,
> III.i.129-131

Perhaps Shakespeare dimly remembered the striking phrase "kit with the canstick" from the list of "bugs" in the Discoverie, VII.xv.

---

1. I Henry IV, III.i.154-157.
2. Discoverie, XV.iii.
3. Most editors prefer "canstick" from the 1598 quarto to the Folio's "candlestick".

The two most detailed and specialised treatments of the witchcraft material in Macbeth are W.C. Curry's Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns and H.N. Paul's The Royal Play of Macbeth. Both have certain shortcomings and can lead to too narrow readings of the play. Paul's insistence on the "royalness" of the play leads him to rely almost exclusively on King James' Daemonologie as an exegetical tool. That Shakespeare did not follow the king's treatise slavishly as a manual for the writing of the play can be demonstrated by the fact that the First Witch threatens an attack on the master of the "Tiger" in the form of a tail-less rat.[1] To all orthodox theorists, including the author of the Daemonologie, the assumption of an actual animal body by a witch was an impossibility.[2] Macbeth, it is suggested, cannot be understood simply as a manifestation of the king's ideas, although Shakespeare did borrow from the Daemonologie. Curry's study of Macbeth

> attempts to show that the integrating principle of Macbeth is to be identified with a body of patrimonial doctrines transmitted to the Renaissance from the scholastic philosophers.
> Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns, (ed. Baton Rouge, 1937), p.vii

Although Curry is sound on patristic and scholastic doctrine, and one cannot but agree with the implied proposition that Augustine and Aquinas profoundly influenced the formulation of European demonology, his study does not offer any great insights into Shakespeare's reading or manipulation of more easily accessible sources.

Paul's argument that the play had an especial appeal to King James is generally accepted.[3] Both Paul and Kenneth Muir[4] note the similarities of detail in Macbeth and the Daemonologie. Muir cites the limited means by which the devil can foretell the future (by

---

1. Macbeth, I.iii.7-10.
2. Daemonologie, II.iv, p.39.
3. op.cit., p.259ff.
4. Shakespeare's Sources, pp.178-179.

informed conjecture rather than by absolute prescience),[1] and the predictions of the witches on matters of state and on the results of battles. The devil makes himself trusted in small things so that he may eventually trick us into perdition. Paul further relates the details of the witches' threat to waste away the sailor to the Daemonologie.[2] Macduff's lines about Macbeth

> Not in the legions
> Of horrid hell can come a devil more damn'd
> Macbeth, IV.iii.55-56

are related by Paul to the king's mention of demonic hierarchies. It is difficult to assent to some of Paul's observations. He insists that Shakespeare's Weird Sisters

> are simply and solely hateful, malicious, ugly old hags used by their devils to do evil deeds.
> Paul, p.263

This implies that Shakespeare had completely suppressed Holinshed's suggestions that the Sisters were first thought by Macbeth and Banquo to be "some vaine fantasticall illusion" or that they might have been "the goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphes or feiries".[3] It will be argued that Shakespeare took up Holinshed on "vaine fantasticall illusion", and made the uncertainty about supernatural manifestations a part of the play.

For the lines

> Though his bark cannot be lost,
> Yet it shall be tempest-tost.
> Macbeth, I.iii.24-25

Paul[4] refers to the Daemonologie, citing the passage that explains that witches cannot raise storms "universally". This I take to be a misunderstanding (on the part of Paul, not Shakespeare) of James, who suggests that the divine permission restricts the power

---

1. Macbeth, I.iii.57ff.
2. ibid., I.iii.18ff; Daemonologie, II.v, p.44.
3. Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources, Vol.III, p.495.
4. op.cit., p.248.

of witches locally. The true analogue here is the attempt of the witches of Berwick to wreck King James and Queen Anne on their way to Britain from Denmark. His Majesty's faith preserved him, confessed Agnis Tompson in the pamphlet Newes from Scotland.[1]
I would suggest that the influence of this pamphlet on Macbeth has been underestimated. Paul recognises it as a source for the toad sweating venom, one of the ingredients of the cauldron.[2] The attraction of Newes from Scotland is that it provides stories of witchcraft, and it seems that it was stories rather than exposition of theory that caught the fancy of dramatists. Macbeth, I.iii would seem to bear the marks of both the Daemonologie and Newes. The witches meet and report to each other on their wicked activities. The First Witch has conceived a grudge against a sailor and his wife. The other witches promise assistance with their winds, and the First Witch exhibits a pilot's thumb. With this compare the king's account of the meeting of witches with the Devil.

> ... their master enquiring at them what they would be at: everie one of them propones unto him, what wicked turne they would have done, either for obteining of riches, or for revenging them upon anie whome they have malice at: who granting their demande, as no doubt willinglie he wil, ... teacheth them the means, wherby they may do the same. As for little trifling turnes that women have ado with, he causeth them to joynt dead corpses, & to make powders therof, ...
>
> Daemonologie, II.v, p.43

The dance of the Weird Sisters "hand in hand" later in this scene (I.iii.32ff.) bears a resenblance to the doings of the Berwick witches who

> after they had landed, tooke handes on the land and daunced this reill or short daunce, singing all with one voice.
>
> Newes from Scotland, p.13

---

1. Newes from Scotland, p.17.
2. Macbeth, IV.i.6ff.

Geilles Duncan repeated her performance as accompanist on a Jew's trump before King James,

> who in the respect of the strangenes of these matters, tooke great delight to bee present at their examinations.
>
> Newes from Scotland, p.14

If from the king's treatise and from Newes from Scotland Shakespeare took some details for the presentation of the witches, it is suggested that it was from Z. Jones' translation of Le Loyer's Histoire des Spectres as A Treatise of Specters (1605) that Shakespeare derived a specialised rationalism expressed by Macbeth, Lady Macbeth and Banquo, as to the reality of various manifestations of the supernatural in the play. Chapters VII-IX of the Treatise suggest natural explanations for spectres and prodigies. Paul[1] suggested that Le Loyer's account of the tyrant Thierry's vision of the murdered Simmachus at a banquet was the original for the appearance of the ghost of Banquo. The influence of the Treatise might be more pervasive than just this one incident. The book, although orthodox in its insistence on the reality of visions, apparitions and demonic influence, is also informative on what might be termed the "psychology" of those who are likely to see visions that do not have an independent reality. Le Loyer describes an incident when Silla was marching into Italy with his armies. He saw two clouds or vapours which in the end vanished away. Le Loyer explains these as

> ... naturall vapors that come from the earth: it is verie certaine that the ayre doth sometimes create those of vapors forms so marvailous, that any man would take them for Prodigies or Specters.
>
> Treatise of Specters, vii, f.66

Banquo's explanations of the sudden disappearance of the witches is

> The earth hath bubbles, as the water has,
> And these are of them.
>
> Macbeth, I.iii.79-80

---

1. op.cit., pp.56-59.

Macbeth's speech on "supernatural soliciting" (I.iii.130ff.) depicts a state of mind likely to produce "imaginings", that is pictures presented to the critical faculties by the fancy. The "horrid image" that Macbeth sees is the image of the murdered Duncan. Le Loyer says that

> A Phantosme ... is an imagination of thinges which are not indeede, and doth proceede of the senses being corrupted: ...
> Treatise of Specters, i, f.1v

and that we persuade ourselves that some object presents itself to us. Macbeth's state of mind is that where he perceives that "nothing is but what is not". The "imagination" of the murdered Duncan could be said to be as real as the dagger which Macbeth later sees. Macbeth doubts the reality of the apparition,

> ...art thou but
> A dagger of the mind, a false creation
> Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain?
> II.i.37-39

Le Loyer explains that inflammation of the brain is the first cause of foolish "imaginations", Lady Macbeth upbraids Macbeth for thinking that he has heard a voice,[1] and Le Loyer has a section on how the sense of hearing may be deceived, especially at night.[2] Lady Macbeth's rebuke,

> ... 'tis the eye of childhood
> That fears a painted devil.
> II.ii.54-55

may be compared with Le Loyer's account of how in Switzerland

> ... there were some that used to disguise and maske themselves in horrible vizards, like unto divells, onely with an intention to terrifie the little children ...
> Treatise of Specters, ix, f.105v

---

1. Macbeth, II.ii.42ff.
2. Treatise of Specters, ix, f.92vff.

It was Dyce who first noticed in his edition of the works of Middleton (1840) that much of the magical material in the witch scenes of The Witch was derived from Reginald Scot's Discoverie. He concentrated mainly on the manufacture of the flying-ointment and the description of night-flying.[1] Bertil Johansson pointed out that the detail of the use of the fat of an unbaptized child[2] was from another section of the Discoverie (III.i).[3] Bullen's edition, citing Dyce, also notes that the names "Hoppo" and "Stadlin", and Stadlin's ability to raise storms come from the Discoverie, XII.vii. Although this section of Scot accounts for part of the description of Hoppo's malpractices, it does not account for them all. Hecate says to Sebastian,

> I'll call forth Hoppo, and her Incantation
> can straight destroy the yong of all his Cattell:
> blast vine-yards, Orchards, Meadowes; or in one night
> transport his Doong, Hay, Corne, by Reekes, whole Stacks,
> into thine owne Ground.
>
> The Witch, (MSR), I.ii.337-341

The passage in Scot (XII.v) originally noted by Dyce accounts for only lines 340-341. The three preceding lines are drawn from the next chapter of the Discoverie. Here Scot is actually translating the Papal Bull Summis Desiderantes (1484) which was prefixed to editions of the Dominican manual Malleus Maleficarum, where Scot, who quotes freely but scornfully from the Malleus, undoubtedly found it. Pope Innocent VIII had received reports of people who

> with incantations ... doo destroie ... the yoong of all cattell, ... doo utterlie extinguish, suffocate, and spoile all vineyards, ortchards, medowes, ...
>
> Discoverie, XII.vi, p.223

Scot's translation of the Bull provided Middleton with another passage. Innocent writes on the inhibition of generation by witches,

---

1. Bullen cites Dyce on these passages. The Works of Thomas Middleton, Vol.V, pp.366-367.
2. The Witch (MSR), I.ii.201.
3. Religion and Superstition in the plays of Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton, p.283 note 2.

> yea men and women themselves are by their imprecations so afflicted with externall and inward paines and diseases, that men cannot beeget, nor women bring forth anie children, nor yet accomplish the dutie of wedlocke, ...
> Discoverie, XII.vi, p.223

Hecate, having given the skins of snakes to Sebastian,[1] promises

> Neither the Man begetts, nor Woman Breeds;
> no, nor performes the least desires of wedlock,
> being then a mutuall dutie:
> The Witch, I.ii.356-358

What must surely be understood as a conjuration by Hecate, - "Urchins, Elves, Haggs" etc.,[2] is of course part of Scot's famous list of "bugs"[3] rounded off with a charm for toothache from the Discoverie.[4] The editors of the Malone Society edition of the play noted the error in Dyce's emendation of the manuscript's "silence" to "Sylvans" at I.ii.298. Dyce also took Scot's "sylens" to be "sylvans". The Malone Society edition correctly glosses the word as "sileni". Scot was constructing a comic catalogue of spirits which he modelled on more sober originals. I suspect that he borrowed from Lavater's list which after Pan and Faunus (Scot's order) goes on

> And menne saye, that Satyri, are almost lyke untoo menne:
> And those whiche are of full age are called Sileni.
> Of Ghostes and Spirites (Shakespeare Association Facsimiles), p.7

Dyce noted that the list of drugs (I.ii.359-360) was from the Discoverie, VI.iii, and Christ[5] found the detail of the use of needles that had sewn shrouds (I.ii.363-364) was from the Discoverie, VI.vii. The love-potions at I.ii.407ff. and II.ii.734ff. were also noted by Christ as coming from the Discoverie, VII.vii. Christ also suggested that the "noyse of Musitians" above the steeple[6] was a borrowing from the Discoverie, X.ix.

1. Karl Christ, Quellenstudien zu den Dramen Thomas Middletons, p.33, notes that the skins of serpents are instruments inhibiting generation in the Discoverie, VI.iii.
2. The Witch, I.ii.297ff.
3. Discoverie, VII.xv, p.153.
4. Works, ed. Bullen, Vol.V, p.372.
5. op.cit., p.33.
6. The Witch, III.iii.1328-1329.

Another borrowing from Scot so far unnoticed is Hecate's question to Stadlin,

> Is the Hart of wax
> stuck full of Magique-Needles?
> The Witch, I.ii.232-233

Scot gives a tale from New Romney in Kent in which the parents of a girl fallen strangely ill are informed by a cunning-woman that a witch

> wrought the maidens destruction, by making a heart of wax and pricking the same with pins and needels; ...
> Discoverie, XII.xvi, p.258

An instance where the influence of the Discoverie is more debatable, but still likely, is a reference to Job by Hecate. The witch confesses that the power of witches is limited but

> ... well may we raise Jarrs
> Jealouzies, Striffes, and hart-burning-disagreements, like a thick Skurff ore life, as did our Master upon that patient Miracle:
> The Witch, I.ii.370-373

In view of Middleton's extensive use of Scot, it is suggested that the Discoverie's discussion of this favourite locus of demonologists in V.vii prompted the reference to Job. Scot rejects the case of Job as evidence of witchcraft. I take the simile "like a thick Skurff ore life" to be inspired by the physical afflictions of Job who, as Scot notes,

> was smitten with biles [i.e. boils], from the sole of his foote to the crowne of his head.
> Discoverie, V.viii, p.106

Other sections of Scot which, although they do not display the same verbal parallels, would have provided information which Middleton used in the play are as follows. Scot gives a description of witches and notes the fact that their neighbours fear to deny them anything.

> These go from house to house, and from doore to doore for a pot full of milke, yest, drinke, pottage, or some such releefe; ...
> Discoverie, I.iii, p.7

Hecate says

> They denide me often fflowre, Barme, and Milke Goose-greaze, and Tar,
> The Witch, I.ii.241-242

Scot has chapters on incubi and succubi.[1] It would have been from IV.ii, which cites from the Malleus the theory, formally set out by Aquinas, of how a demon may collect human seed in the form of a succubus and convey it to the witch in the form of an incubus, that Middleton obtained another detail. It is this technicality which informs Hecate's

> what yong-man can we wish, to pleasure us but we enjoy him in an Incubus?
> The Witch, I.ii.213-214

and

> 'tis Almachildes: fresh Blood stirrs in Me the man that I have lusted to enjoy I have had him thrice in Incubus already.
> ibid., I.ii.396-398

It was probably from Scot too that Middleton took the boasts of Ovid's Medea (V.iii) rather than directly from Metamorphoses, VII. Scot's quotation in XII.vii is almost identical with Middleton's, beginning and ending with the same half-lines.. Both have the same mistake, "Teque luna traho" for "Te quoque luna traho". Middleton however omits the line "Vivaque saxa, sua convulsaque robora terra".

According to Christ,[2] it was Fleay who first pointed out that the names of the familiars Titty, Tiffin, Suckin and the rest in the opening lines

---

1. Discoverie, III.xix, IV.ii, IV.iii.
2. op.cit., p.34.

of I.ii were from a pamphlet account of a witch-trial, A True and just Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S.Oses in the Countie of Essex (1582) by "W.W." The Malone Society editors of the play noted that these names could be found in Scot's Discourse upon Divels and Spirits, p.542. This work was appended to the 1584 edition of the Discoverie. The Malone Society editors thought it unlikely that Middleton had read the pamphlet. However details in the play suggest that he had.

An incestuous relationship between Hecate and her son Firestone makes a brief and gratuitous appearance. Firestone wants to go roving with the nightmare, as he has designs on a parson's daughter.

> Hec. and who shall lye with me then?
> Fire. the great Cat, for one night (Mother) 'tis
> but a Night make shift with him for once.
> Hec. you're a kind son:
> but 'tis the nature of you all, I see that:
> you had rather hunt after strange women still
> then lye with your owne Mothers:
> The Witch, I.ii.286-292

The S.Oses pamphlet records a rare instance of incest being mentioned in an English witch trial. It occurs in the examination of Joan Pechey.

> This Examinate beeing charged to have willed her Sonne Phillip Barrenger, beeing of the age of xxiii. yeares to lye in bedde with her, denyeth that shee had so doone, other then shee had willed him at some tymes to lye uppon the bedde, at her backe.
>
> But the saide Phyllyppe beeing examined, confesseth and saith, that manye times and of late hee hath layne in naked bed with his owne mother, being willed and commaunded so to doe of her.
>
> This Examinate beeing asked, whether she had any Cat in her house, ...
> True and just Recorde, C6

Hecate has a speech on the more rustic aspects of her maleficia.

> I nere hurt their Charmings [i.e. churnings], their Brew-locks, Nor. their Batches, nor fore-spoake any of their Breedings. Now I'll be-meete with 'em. seaven of their yong Piggs, I'have Be-witched already of the last Littor, nine ducklyngs, thirteene Goselings, & a Hog: fell lame last Sonday after Even-song too. and mark how their Sheepe prosper; or what Soape [i.e. sup] each Milch-kine gives to th'Paile:
>
> The Witch, I.ii.242-249

The S.Oses pamphlet provides parallels for almost every instance of maleficium.

> [Nicholas Strickland's wife] went to chearne her Creame that shee had gathered, and that shee was from the morning untill tenne of the clocke in the night a Chearning, and coulde have no butter: ...
>
> True and just Recorde, E3v

> [Alice Manfielde] saith, that about a yere since the said mother Gravel told her, that she had caused her impes to destroy severall brewings of beere, & batches of bread, ...
>
> ibid., D8

There are several instances of the bewitching of swine and hogs.[1]

> thou haste not had so good lucke with thy gooslings, but thou shalt have as badde: ...
>
> ibid., E4

John Wade testified that since Annis Herd talked with him his sheep and lambs had sickened or died.[2] There are several instances of cows giving blood instead of milk,[3] which I would suggest to lie behind Hecate's gloating "and mark ... what Soape / each Milch-kine gives to th'Paile". Another example of the influence of the pamphlet may be discerned in Hecate's lines,

---

1. True and just Recorde, C7v, D8v, F, F7v.
2. ibid., E6v-E7.
3. ibid., C7v, E4.

> My Spirrits know their Moments,
> Raven, or Screich-owle never fly by th'dore
> but they call-in (I thanck 'em) and they loose not by't
> I give 'em Barley, soaked in Infants-Blood
> The Witch, V.iii.1976-1979

This is a gruesome heightening of the testimony of Annis Herd's illegitimate daughter, who testified that she had seen her mother feed her bird familiars "somtimes with wheat, barley, somtimes with otes".[1]

There is another source which was used by Middleton and which has so far remained unnoticed. This is Pierre Le Loyer's A Treatise of Specters. In the play in III.iii Hecate and Firestone are busy with magical herbs.

> Hec. deere and sweet Boy; What herbes ha'st thou?
> Fire- I have Mar Martin, and Mandragon;
> Hec. Marmaritin, and Mandragora, thou wouldst say.
> heer's Pannax too: I thanck thee
> Fire- My Pan akes I am sure
> With kneeling-downe to Cut 'em.
> Hec. and Selago,
> Hedge Hissop too: how neere he goes my Cuttings?
> were they all cropt by Moone-light?
> The Witch, III.iii.1313-1321

Marmaritin was one of the herbs which Middleton found in Scot, but the others, with the exception of hedge-hyssop, are from Le Loyer's discussion of the magical properties of plants.

> Furthermore Virgil doth recite yet other ceremonies which the Sorcerers used in gathering of their hearbes, all which were nothing else but damnable, superstitious and divelish inventions: as to cut them in the night time by the light of the Moone-shine with a hooke of brasse, which maketh me also to remember certaine observations of the Magitians and Sorcerers in times past, in cutting of their hearb Elleborus, Mandragoras, and the herb Panaceum, wherof Theophrastus speaketh, and derideth it as a foolish and vaine superstition: and also of the Druides, amongest the antient Gaules, who used, without any knife or yron, to plucke the hearbe which they called Selago, ...
> Treatise of Specters, xii, f.137

---

1. True and just Recorde, F4.

Le Loyer's treatise also provided Middleton with the incident in which Almachildes tries to gain Amorette with a love-charm. The treatise reports a trial before the parlement of Paris. A young man tried to win the love of a girl by magical means and obtained scrolls of virgin parchment from a sorcerous priest,

> ... and finding his mistrisse in a place fitte for the purpose, he conveyed the paper into her bosome, whilst himselfe made semblance that he was but playing and jeasting with her.
> Treatise of Specters, xii, f.138

This is exactly the technique of Almachildes.

> Al. 'tis but a gentle punishment: so take it.
> Am. why Sir, what meane you? will you ravish me,?
> Al. what in the Gallery? and the Sun peepe in? there's fitter time, and place: 'tis in her Bosom now.
> Am. goe: you're the rudest thing, ere came at court.
> The Witch, II.ii.754-758

But Almachildes did not use conjured scrolls of parchment. His charm was a three-coloured ribbon with a Latin inscription.

> a three-penny-silk Ryban, of three Cullours,
> Necte tribus Nodis ternos Amoretta Colores.
> Amoretta: why ther's her Name indeed.
> Necte - Amoretta - agen, two Bouts,
> Nodo et Veneris, dic Vincula Necte.
> ibid., II.ii.726-730

David George was partly correct when he pointed out that the verses were from Virgil, Eclogues, VIII,[1] but the immediate source was Le Loyer. One of the speakers in the trial before the Paris parlement invokes the authority of Virgil on the potency of amatory magic.

> Now if wee should come to the bandes of love, caused and procured by charmes, we shall finde in Authors sufficient store of examples to that effect. And Virgil reporteth and setteth downe

---

1. "The problems of Middleton's The Witch and its sources", NQ, June 1967, pp.726-730.

> the very woordes which were usually spoken to entangle and entrappe in the snares of love such as are obstinate and untractable. Which woordes joyned and used with a ceremonie of certaine knottes made in a ribband or lace of three severall colours, were held to have such power, that they in whose name they were pronounced, should presently feele themselves stricken in love.
>
> Treatise of Specters, xii, f.143v

In the margin next to this passage there is the appropriate Virgilian quotation,

> In Eclogis. Necte tribus nodis ternos Amarylli colores necte Amarylli nodo & veneris, dic, Vincula necte.

This Middleton's mistake in the Latin, "nodo" for "modo", is explained by his copying the error from the 1605 translation of Le Loyer. The other error, "necte" for "necto" in line 730, cannot be explained in this way. Probably this mistake is that of Ralph Crane, the scribe of the unique manuscript of the play,[1] and was caused by the (correctly-used) form "necto" in line 727. The change from "Amarylli" to "Amoretta" is explained by the statement in the treatise that the charm was effective on the girl in whose name it was pronounced.

It is generally known that Dekker, Ford and Rowley's The Witch of Edmonton was based on the pamphlet written by Henry Goodcole, The Wonderfull Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer (1621). Goodcole visited Mother Sawyer in Newgate, and much of the pamphlet is taken up with the report of a question and answer dialogue between Goodcole and the witch. The play draws closely on the pamphlet. Although the indebtedness of the play to the pamphlet is known,

---

1. See the introduction to the play in the MSR edition.

I have found no close comparisons of the relevant passages in the play with those in the pamphlet. Such a comparison here follows. Possible sources for those allusions to witchcraft in the play and not taken from the pamphlet will then be suggested.

In II.i the witch enters and complains of the fact that her physical appearance has gained her a reputation for being a witch.

> Sawy. And why on me? Why should the envious world
> Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?
> 'Cause I am poor, deform'd and ignorant,
> And like a Bow buckl'd and bent together,
> The Witch of Edmonton (Dekker, Works, ed. Bowers, Vol.III), II.i.1-4

> Her body was crooked and deformed, even bending together, which so happened but a little before her apprehension.
> Wonderfull Discoverie, A4v

Elizabeth Sawyer says that she has a common repute for being a witch and that some say

> That my bad tongue (by their bad usage made so)
> Forespeaks their Cattle, doth bewitch their Corn,
> Themselves, their Servants, and their Babes at Nurse.
> The Witch of Edmonton, II.i.11-13

> A Great, and long suspition was held of this person to be a witch, ... seeing the death of Nurse-children and Cattell, strangely and suddenly to happen.
> Wonderfull Discoverie, A4

A passing reference by one of Cuddy Banks' morris-dancing companions to the fact that the witch only has one eye, "Bless us, Cuddy, and let her curse her tother eye out",[1] draws on part of the dialogue between Goodcole and Elizabeth,

> Quest.
> How came your eye to be put out?
> Answ.
> With a sticke which one of my children had in the hand: ...
> Wonderfull Discoverie, D

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, II.i.84.

The first encounter of Elizabeth with her future familiar draws closely and extensively on the pamphlet.

Sawy. ...
Abjure all goodness: be at hate with prayer;
And study Curses, Imprecations,
Blasphemous speeches, ...
Vengeance, shame, ruine, light upon that Canker.
Enter Dog.
Dog. Ho! have I found thee cursing? now thou art mine own.

The Witch of Edmonton, II.i.107-116

The first time that the Divell came unto me was, when I was cursing, swearing and blaspheming; he then rushed in upon me, and never before that time did I see him, or he me: and when he, namely the Divel, came to me, the first words that hee spake unto me were these: Oh! have I now found you cursing, swearing, and blaspheming? now you are mine.

Wonderfull Discoverie, C-Cv

Dog. ... command me
Do any mischief unto Man or Beast,
And I'll effect it, on condition,
That uncompell'd thou make a deed of Gift
Of Soul and Body to me.
Sawy. Out, alas!
My Soul and Body?
Dog. And that instantly,
And seal it with thy blood: if thou deniest,
I'll tear thy body in a thousand pieces.
...
Seal't with thy blood.
Sucks her arm,...
The Witch of Edmonton, II.i.125-142

He asked of me, when hee came unto me, how I did, and what he should doe for mee, and demanded of mee my soule and body; threatning then to teare me in peeces, if that I did not grant unto him my soule and my body which he asked of me. ... I then gave him leave to sucke of my bloud, the which hee asked of me.

Wonderfull Discoverie, C3

In the pamphlet the demon demanded prayers be made only to him and taught the witch a few jumbled words of the Paternoster as the form she should use. In the play these become part of the witch's curse.

> Dog. ... make Orisons to me,
> And none but me.
> Sawy. Say now, and in what manner?
> Dog. I'll tell thee; when thou wishest ill,
> Corn, Man or Beast, would spoyl or kill,
> Turn thy back against the Sun,
> And mumble this short Orison:
> If thou to death or shame pursue 'em,
> Santibicetur nomen tuum.
>
> ... he found me once praying, and he asked of me to whom I prayed, and I answered him, to Jesus Christ; and he changed me to pray no more to Jesus Christ, but to him the Divell, and he the Divell taught me this prayer, Sanctibicetur nomen tuum. Amen.
>
> Wonderfull Discoverie, C4v

One of the tests applied to Mother Sawyer was the burning of a piece of her thatch. Mother Sawyer came immediately. A Justice of the Peace in the play brands this practice as ridiculous.[1]

> Haml. Burn the Witch, the Witch, the Witch, the Witch.
> Omn. What hast got there?
> Haml. A handful of Thatch pluck'd off a Hovel of hers: and they say when 'tis burning, if she be a Witch, she'll come running in.
> O. Bank. Fire it, fire it: I'll stand between thee and home for any danger.
> As that burns, enter the Witch [Mother Sawyer].

This incident is described in the pamphlet. Goodcole expresses contempt for the test, thus providing the suggestion for the scepticism of the Justice of the Peace.

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, II.i.40

> And to finde out who should bee the author of this mischiefe, an old ridiculous custome was used, which was to plucke the Thatch of her house, and to burne it, and it being so burnd, the authour of such mischiefe should presently then come: and it was observed and affirmed to the Court, that Elizabeth Sawyer would presently frequent the house of them that burnt the thatch which they pluckt of her house, and come without any sending for.
>
> Wonderfull Discoverie, A4-A4v

The incident of Anne Ratcliff's madness and the detail of her suicide by beating her brains out[1] may both by accounted for by the pamphlet. K.M. Briggs[2] assumes that the incident must have been taken from one of the ballads which Goodcole mentions, but Goodcole's references supply all the information about Anne Ratcliff that can be found in the play.

> Sawy. ...
> That Jade, that foul-tongu'd whore, Nan Ratcliff,
> Who for a little Soap lick'd by my Sow,
> Struck, and almost lam'd it; Did not I charge thee,
> To pinch that Quean to th'heart?
> Dog. Bough, wough, wough: Look here else.
> Enter Anne Ratcliff mad.
>
> The Witch of Edmonton, IV.i.168-172

> [Elizabeth Sawyer] was also indited, for that shee the said Elizabeth Sawyer, by Diabolicall helpe, and out of malice afore-thought, did witch unto death Agnes Ratcleife, a neighbour of hers, dwelling in the towne of Edmonton ... because that Elizabeth Ratcliefe did strike a Sowe of hers in her sight, for licking up a little Soape where shee had laide it, ...
>
> Wonderfull Discoverie, Bv-B2

Goodcole in the "Author's Apologie" mentions "ridiculous fictions" circulating in ballads such as that of "the bewitched woman brayning her selfe".[3]

Other details taken from the pamphlet are the

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, IV.i.207.
2. Pale Hecate's Team, p.94.
3. Wonderfull Discoverie, A3v.

name of Mother Sawyer's familiar, Tom,[1] the familiar changing his colour from black to white,[2] and the distasteful detail of the witch's method of feeding her familiar. She had a secret teat "a little above the Fundiment".[3] Cuddy reproaches Tom with his unpleasant habits.

> Clow. ... but to creep under an old witches Coats,
> and suck like a great Puppy, Fie upon't!
> I have heard beastly things of you, Tom.
> The Witch of Edmonton, V.i.171-173
>
> Question.
> Whether did you pull up your coates or no when the Divell came to sucke you?
> Answer.
> No I did not, but the Divell would put his head under my coates, and I did willingly suffer him to doe what he would.
> Wonderfull Discoverie, C3v

There are other details in the play which are not accounted for by the pamphlet. West[4] noted that the incident of Old Banks' obsessional compulsion to kiss his dun cow underneath the tail (IV.i.52ff.) was recounted of a man in Gifford's Dialogue, sig. L4v. This detail is so distinctive that one must suppose one of the playwrights had read Gifford's work. On this assumption it is possible to suggest that other details in the play may have come from the Dialogue. The Dog confesses that the power of devils to do harm is limited.

> Though we have power, know, it is circumscrib'd,
> And ti'd in limits: ...
> The Witch of Edmonton, II.i.152-153

Gifford several times insists on the restraining power of God's providence.[5] It is possible to detect in the metaphor of the power of the devil being

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, III.i.110; Wonderfull Discoverie,C4.
2. The Witch of Edmonton, V.i.33-34; Wonderfull Discoverie,C2v.
3. Wonderfull Discoverie, B3v.
4. Invisible World, p.152.
5. Dialogue, A2v, Dv, M.

"ti'd in limits" an echo of a favourite metaphor of Gifford's who says that "the Divels in Hell are ... chained up and brideled by this high providence" and that the devils "are chained up by Gods most mightie power & providence".[1] Gifford twice enumerates catalogues of the shapes taken by familiar spirits,

> as like cattes, weasils, toads, or mise, whome they nourish with milke, or with a chicken, or by letting them sucke now and then a drop of blood: ...
> Dialogue, B4v

> ... others [the Devil] playeth withall in liknes of a Weasel, or a Mouse, or some such small vermine.
> ibid., M

The Witch of Edmonton also includes two catalogues of familiars. Mother Sawyer says

> I have heard old Beldames
> Talk of Familiars in the shape of Mice,
> Rats, Ferrets, Weasels, and I wot not what,
> That have appear'd, and suck'd, some say, their blood.
> The Witch of Edmonton, II.i.97-100

Tom instructs Cuddy Banks on the animal shapes taken by devils,

> ...chiefly those course Creatures,
> Dog, or Cat, Hare, Ferret, Frog, Toad.
> ...
> Any poor Vermine.
> The Witch of Edmonton, V.i.115-118

Now although it must be admitted that familiars are one of the most common features of English witch trials, the similarities of detail in the passages from Gifford's Dialogue and the play are suggestive. It should also be noted that both one of the passages on the restraining power of providence and one of the passages on the animal shapes of familiars occur together on the page with the signature M. The passage about the dun cow in Gifford occurs on the facing page, sig. L4v.

---

1. Dialogue, A2v, M.

One final possible borrowing from Gifford could account for Cuddy Banks' jokes about water-spaniels and water-dogs with reference to Tom.[1] Gifford gives a tale of a "rugged water-Spaniell" which was mistaken for a spirit in the dark.[2]

There is no acknowledged extant source for Heywood and Brome's Late Lancashire Witches, but information about the trial on which it is based does survive in three forms. These are John Webster's Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft (1677), the reports of Bishop Bridgeman of Chester to Secretaries Coke and Windebank,[3] and a report of the examination of Edmund Robinson, the boy "discoverer" of the witches and the "Boy" of the play, in BM Additional Ms. 36674, ff.193-193v. It is possible to assume that the authors of the play in using incidents reported at the trial followed the actual details closely, although I suggest that the 1633 trial of the Lancashire witches does not account for all the incidents of witchcraft in the play.

> K.M. Briggs thought that Heywood
>
> must have worked upon a pamphlet giving full details of the trial, been present at it himself, or had copies of the depositions.
>
> Pale Hecate's Team, p.102

Briggs used Webster's comments on the trial[4] and his copy of the examination of Thomas Robinson[5] and also the boy's deposition as it is found in Add. Ms. 36674 to provide a background for the incidents in the play.

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, III.i.63-70, IV.i.231ff.
2. Dialogue, K4-K4v.
3. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1634-1635, pp.77-79.
4. Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft, pp.276-178.
5. ibid., appended to the end of the book, sigs. Yy2-Yy3.

There is however another account which she did not mention and which is preferable for purposes of comparison. This is Harleian Ms. 6854, ff.22-29v, which is mentioned by C. L'Estrange Ewen.[1] Webster, prefixing his "Examination of Thomas Robinson", mentions the fact of "the Original Examination coming lately to the Authors hand".[2] This suggests that he was reproducing a narrative written down at the actual trial, it might also imply that he was copying from a manuscript rather than a pamphlet. At any rate, Webster is assuring the reader of the veracity and authority of the extract. Now there are small discrepancies between Webster's version of the examination of Thomas Robinson and the account given in Add. Ms. 36674. They may be set out as follows. Webster's account says that Mother Dickenson transformed her spirit-companion into a white horse, as does the play.[3] Add. Ms. 36674 says that it was a black horse. Webster's account of the witches' meeting tells how Thomas was offered food on a trencher by a young woman,[4] the Additional Ms. says that it was a young man. There are no male witches in the play. The Additional Ms. omits the detail of Loynd's wife flying up the chimney, which Webster relates. On the two points of disagreement Harleian Ms. 6854 bears out Webster and it also includes the incident of the witch flying up the chimney at the same point in the examination as does Webster. The Harleian Ms. account is also very much closer to Webster, many of the passages being word for word. It is quite possible that it was from this manuscript that Webster transcribed his account. At any rate, on

---

1. Witchcraft and Demonianism, p.244 note 3.
2. Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft, p.346.
3. Late Lancashire Witches (Heywood, Works, Vol.IV), Act II, p.200.
4. Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft, sig. Yy2v.

the premise that Webster is correct in claiming that he is using the original examination, Harleian Ms. 6854 must stand much closer to the trial examination than the Additional Ms. The Harleian Ms. also contains the Examination of Margaret Johnson (the "Meg" of the play) before Starky and Shuttleworth on 2 March 1633, which the other manuscript does not give, although a confession by Margaret Johnson may be found Add. Ms. 36674, f. 196-196v

It is not possible to determine exactly what source the playwrights drew on for the Late Lancashire Witches. A pamphlet like Goodcole's and those produced after other witch-trials would have provided the simplest answer, but if such a pamphlet existed it has now been lost and there was no entry of it in the Stationers' Register. Entries for 22 August 1634 record two ballads, now lost, which may have come out hot on the events in Lancashire. These were The Witches Dance and Prophane Pastime or the witches Mad humour. It is argued [illegible] because of the close similarity between the play and the Harleian Ms. account that these ballads cannot be considered as having provided important information. The Examination of Edmund Robinson, 10 February 1633, has been used in toto, omitting nothing of the narrative except the boy's accusation that he saw the witches handling wax images with things stuck in them,[1] - a significant omission, as it is the only instance of serious maleficium in the narrative.

The incidents in the play involving the Boy (i.e. Thomas Robinson) follow the Harleian Ms. account very closely and include no details it does not provide.

---

1. Harl. Ms. 6854, f.25v.

Enter Boy with a switch.

Boy. Now I have gathered Bullies, and fild my bellie pretty well, ...

Enter an invisible spirit. F.Adson with a brace of greyhounds.

What have we here a brace of Greyhounds broke loose from their masters: it must needs be so, for they have both their Collers and slippes about their neckes. Now I looke better upon them, me thinks I should know them, and so I do: these are Mr. Robinsons dogges, that dwels some two miles off, ... Now if I could but start a Hare by the way, kill her, and carry her home to my supper, ...

Late Lancashire Witches, Act II, pp.196-197

[Thomas Robinson] desired the said Parker to give him leave to get some Bullas, which hee did, in which tyme of getting Bullas hee sawe two Greyhoundes vizt a blacke and a browne one come runninge over the next feild towardes him, hee verilie thinketh the one to bee Mr Nutters and the other to bee Mr Robinsons... And the said Greyhoundes came and fawned on him, they haveinge about theire neckes either of them a Coller, to either of which Collers was tyed a stringe, ...

Harl. Ms. 6854, ff.22-22v

Enter Boy with the Greyhounds.

A Hare, a Hare, halloe, halloe, the Divell take these curres, will they not stir, halloe, halloe, there, there, there, what are they growne so lither and so lazie? ... nay then ile serve you with the like sauce, you shall to the next bush, there will I tie you, and use you like a couple of curs as you are, ...

As he beats them, there appeares before him Gooddy Dickison, and the Boy upon the dogs, going in.

Now blesse me heaven, one of the Greyhounds turn'd into a woman, the other into a boy! The lad I never saw before, but her I know well; it is my gammer Dickison. ...

Dickison. Be silent, speake of nothing thou hast seene. / And here's a shilling for thee.

Boy. Ile have none of your money, gammer, because you are a Witch: ...

Dickison. This bridle helps me still at need,
And shall provide us of a steed. ...

Boy. The boy is vanisht, and I can see nothing in his stead / But a white horse readie sadled and bridled.

Dickison. And thats the horse we must bestride,
On which both thou and I must ride,
Thou boy before and I behinde,

Late Lancashire Witches, Act II, pp.199-200

> ... and presentlie a Hare did rise verie neere before him, at the sight whereof hee cryed loo, loo, loo, but the dogges would not runn, whereupon hee beinge verie angrie tooke them, and with the stringes that were at theire Collers, tyed either of them to a litle bush at the next hedge, and with a rodd that hee had in his hand hee beate them, and in stead of the black Greyhound one Dickensons wife stood upp a Neighbour whom this Informer knoweth, and in stead of the browne Greyhound, a litle Boy whom this Informer knoweth not, ... Dickensons wife, shee put her hand into her pocket and pulled forth a peece of silver much like to a fayre shillinge, and offered to give him it to hold his tongue, and not to tell, which hee refused, sayinge, nay thou art a witch, whereupon shee put her hand into her pocket againe, and pulled out a thinge like unto a bridle that gingled, which she put on the litle Boyes head, which stood upp in the browne Greyhoundes stead, whereupon the said Boy stood upp a white horse. Then ymmediatlie the said Dickensons wife tooke this Informer before her upon the said horse, and carried him to a new howse ...
>
> Harl. Ms. 6854, ff.22v-23v

The Harleian Ms. also gives the details that are used in Act IV for the meeting of the witches in the barn. It describes the "pulling" for food in the form of smoking meat, butter and milk.[1] The Boy is unimpressed with his entertainment.

> Boy. Meat lie thou there, for thou hast no taste, and drinke there, for thou hast no relish, for in neither of them is there either salt or savour.
>
> Late Lancashire Witches, Act IV, p.220

The manuscript says that

> ... a younge woeman whom this Informer knoweth not, gave him flesh and bread upon a trencher, and drinke in a glasse, which after the first tast, he refused, and would have noe more, and said it was nought, ...
>
> Harl. Ms. 6854, ff.23v-24

---

1. Harl. Ms. 6854, f.24

The Boy escapes and the witches notice his absence.

> Boy. Now whilest they are in their jollitie, and do not mind me, ile steale away, and shift for my selfe, ...
> Goody Dickison. But stay, where's the Boy, looke out, if he escape us, we are all betrayed.
> Meg. No following further, yonder horsemen come, In vaine is our pursuit, ...
>
> Late Lancashire Witches, Act IV, p.221

> [Thomas] was gladde to steale out and runn home, who when they wanted some of their Companie, runn [sic][1] after him neere to a place in the high way called Boggard-hole, where hee this Informer mett two horsemen, at the sight whereof the said persons left following him, ...
>
> Harl. Ms. 6854, f.24v

In Act V the Boy recounts his fight with a spirit. Again the play follows the manuscript account closely, the lines of the other characters being simply "feeds".

> Boy. ... he asked me where I dwelt, and what my name was.... But it was in a quarrelsome way; ... We fought a quarter of an houre, till his sharpe nailes made my eares bleed. ... I wondered to finde him so strong in my hands, seeming but of mine owne age and bignesse, till I looking downe, perceived he had clubb'd cloven feet like Oxe feet: ... But I was afraid of his feet, and ran from him towards a light that I saw, and when I came to it, it was one of the Witches in white upon the Bridge, that scar'd me backe againe, and then met me the Boy againe, and he strucke me and layd mee for dead.
> Miller. Till I wondering at his stay, went out and found him in the Trance; ...
>
> Late Lancashire Witches, Act V, p.243

---

1. Here the manuscript has been imperfectly corrected and reads "~~and~~ runni~~nge~~ after".

> ... hee chanced to happen upon a Boy which began to quarrell with him, and they fought together, till this Informer had his eares made verie bloody by fightinge, and lookinge downe, hee sawe the Boy had a Cloven foote, at which sight hee was afrayd, and ran away from him to seeke the kyne, and in the way hee sawe a light like a lanthorne, towards which hee made hast, supposinge it to bee carryed by some of Mr Robinsons people, but when he came to the place, hee onlie found a woeman standinge on the Bridge, whom when hee sawe, hee knewe to be Loyardes wife, and knowinge her, hee turned backe againe, and ymmediatlie he mett with the aforesaid Boy, from whom hee offered to runn, which Boy gave him a blowe on the back, which made him to cry
>
> Harl. Ms. 6854, ff.25-25v

> [Thomas's father testified that he] found him soe afrayd and distracted, that he neither knewe his ffather, nor did hee knowe where he was,...
>
> ibid., f.26v

In Act V we hear the confession of Meg. It is surely significant that the only confession given in the manuscript is that of Margaret Johnson. Her confession provides the name of her familiar, Mamillion, and the fact that a devil appeared to her as a man in black whose clothes were tied with black silk points.[1] The manuscript also relates her confession of having allowed the devil to

> abuse and defyle her bodie, by committinge wicked uncleanesse together ...
>
> Harl. Ms. 6854, f.28

All these details are in the play.

There is one detail in the play that does not appear in the Harleian Ms., but which we know to have formed part of the accusation of the 1633 trial. This is the incident of the walking milk-pail, which was denied by Mary Spencer, the Mall of the play. We know of this detail from the Bishop of Chester's

---

1. Harl. Ms. 6854, ff.27-28

examination.[1] Therefore the authors of the play had access to some details from another source, perhaps the lost ballads.

Since the exact source for the major incidents in the play is a matter of conjecture, it is hazardous to suggest what it did not contain. However there are certain resemblances in some of the minor incidents in the play to passages familiar from the writings of Continental demonologists, which suggests that the playwrights were using written sources that had nothing to do with the actual trial of 1633. A reservation must be admitted here. Reports of incidents alleged at some trials lead one to suppose that they were fabrications on the part of the accused or the accusers, as they are variations on literary themes. The incident of Dr Fian and the heifer has been suggested as an example of this phenomenon.

The two incidents in the play are the inhibition of Lawrence's virility and the assault of the witches on the Miller and the Soldier in the shape of cats. Although stories similar to these are repeated in the writings of Continental authors, it is suggested that they would have been found conveniently together in Scot, who found them in Bodin's *Démonomanie* which in turn draws on the Malleus Maleficarum, or in the Malleus itself.

The features of the tale of Lawrence's litigation are that the young man was an old love of the witch Mall Spencer who, by tying a knot in the point of his codpiece, inhibited his virility on his wedding night. But this seems to have been not simply a case of the inability of the man to perform his marital duty caused by witchcraft, a comparatively common idea, but that his genitals disappeared altogether.

---

1. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1634-1635, p.79.

> Sha. The quarrell began they say upon the wedding night, and in the bride bed.
> Bant. For want of bedstaves?
> Sha. No but a better implement it seemes the bridegroome was unprovided of, ...
> Late Lancashire Witches, Act IV, p.231

Lawrence's insistence that he should be searched[1] so that he should not be found wanting, also lends support to this interpretation. The Discoverie, IV.iv gives tales from the Malleus "of divers that had their genitals taken away from them by witches". A young man from Ravensburg was bewitched in this way "so as in that place nothing could be seene or felt but his plaine bodie". He came close to strangling the witch before she would consent to cure him and she did this by putting her hand into his codpiece. Another tale related by Scot tells of a young man who complained of the same bewitchment to a skeptical priest who

> therefore made the yoong man untrusse his cod-peece point, and sawe the complaint to be true and just.
> Discoverie, IV.iv, p.78

The second minor incident is the tale of the Miller assaulted by witches in the shape of cats who scratch his face. His place is taken by the Soldier who successfully drives them off and cuts the foot off one. Mrs Generous is discovered in bed with one of her hands cut off and so is discovered. This would have been drawn from one of the chapters on transformation in the Discoverie (V.i). Scot tells the story of the werewolf who was shot in the thigh with an arrow, and a man was detected to be the were-wolf when he was found in bed with an arrow in his thigh. Another werewolf in another tale had his feet cut off. Scot then goes on to relate a tale from Bodin.

---

1. Late Lancashire Witches, Act IV, p.233

> Item, he saith, that diverse witches at Vernon, turned themselves into cats, and both committed and received much hurt. But at Argentine there was a wonderfull matter done, by three witches of great wealth, who transforming themselves into three cats, assalted a faggot-maker: who having hurt them all with a faggot sticke, was like to have beene put to death.
> Discoverie, V.i. p.91

Scot upbraids Bodin for not having said why witches transform themselves into cats.

> I saie, that witches are curst queanes, and manie times scratch one another, or their neighbours by the faces; and therefore perchance are turned into cats.
> ibid., V.i, p.92

PART TWO

CHAPTER ONE

Magic and Anti-Catholic Sentiment in Poetry and Drama

Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott,
Ein gute Wehr und Waffen.
Er hilft uns frei aus aller Not,
Die uns jetzt hat betroffen.
Der alte böse Feind,
Mit Ernst ers jetzt meint,
Groß Macht und viel List,
Sein grausam Rüstung ist,
Auf Erd is nicht seins gleichen.
Martin Luther

> The new religion made the situation ... bleaker by playing down the importance of guardian angels, and denying the intercessionary power of saints, while at the same time placing an unprecedented stress upon the reality of the Devil and the extent of his earthly dominion. The situation was piquantly symbolised by the change made under Protestant influence in 1558 in the annual procession by St George's Gild, Norwich. The two saints, George and Margaret, were not allowed to appear any more, but it was resolved that "the dragon (should) come in and show himself as in other years".
> Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, p.494

This chapter attempts to place some literary works of the period in the context of the contemporary relationship between magic and religion. The examination will be concerned with the identification, usually for the purposes of propaganda, of the beliefs and practices of the Church of Rome as magical. The relevant plays and poems will be set against the background of such attacks on Roman Catholicism, or rather "popery". For the material on magic and religion in this chapter and suggestions for lines of approach, I am more than usually indebted to Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic, especially to Chapter III on the impact of the Reformation. A general introduction will be attempted providing examples of the general animus against the Papacy and its works as magical, as well as isolating some thematic strands which are variously and repeatedly interwoven in the literary works to be examined.

The pamphlet The Passage of our most drad Soveraigne Lady Quene Elyzabeth through the Citie of London to Westminster, the daye before her Coronation, Anno 1558[1] describes London's enthusiastic acclamation of its new queen.[2] A few details of the pageants greeting the queen will be taken as a starting-point for this study.[3] A pageant at the end of Cornhill represented the virtues, among them Pure Religion treading underfoot Superstition and Ignorance.[4] Later, in another pageant representing Veritas temporis filia, the queen received a Bible in English delivered to her by a child who had in turn received it at the hands of Truth.[5] Elizabeth made the most of the offered opportunity,

> But she, as soone as she had receyved the booke, kissed it, and with both her handes held up the same, and so laid it upon her brest, with great thankes to the Citie therefore.
> The Passage of our drad Soveraigne, p.51[6]

The author of the pamphlet comments with great approval on the reverence with which the queen received the Bible and how she kissed it "to the great comfort of the lookers-on", God would undoubtedly preserve such a prince.[7] A child from Paul's greeted the queen with a Latin oration hailing Elizabeth "Hujus pectus Christi religionis amore flagrat", and eagerly expecting the return of the Golden Age. Christ himself had destined Elizabeth for the kingdom.[8] In the last pageant in Fleet Street, Deborah was presented crowned, and the pageant proclaimed the story of how Jabin the king of Canaan had long oppressed the Israelites until

---

1. Reprinted in Nichols, Progresses (edition of 1823), Vol.I, pp.38-60.
2. Elton points out that the vociferous welcome given to Elizabeth included an implied condemnation of the old religion. England under the Tudors, p.264.
3. For comments on the Protestant import of the pageants and their relationship with previous propaganda, see Sidney Anglo, Spectacle Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy, pp.344-359.
4. Passage of our drad Soveraigne, p.44.
5. ibid., pp.48-51.
6. The following day the queen repeated the action by receiving the English Bible at her Coronation "with dramatised fervour". She withdrew from the service before the Elevation. Elton, p.270.
7. Passage of our drad Soveraigne, p.60.
8. ibid., p.52.

God sent Deborah as a judge amongst them.[1] The pamphlet expressed the pious hope that truth would take the place of error.[2] To recapitulate the obvious significance of these pageants, Heaven had sent Elizabeth armed with the Gospel to restore a pure religion freed from ignorance and superstition.

"Quoniam omnes dii Gentium daemonia" proclaims Psalm XCVI.v uncompromisingly.[3] This became one of the themes of Augustine's De Civitate Dei and the verse is quoted by Augustine in De Civitate, IX.xxiii. It seems a fact of religious history that the gods of an older religion are regarded by devotees of a newer religion, especially in militant phases, as devils. We have stories of stern early Christian saints and missionaries breaking down the groves of the nymphs, overthrowing the statues of pagan gods, and wrathfully silencing the devils who had spoken in classical oracles. An analogous process may be observed after the Reformation in England. The Reformed Church accused the church of Rome of being Antichrist, described its beliefs as idolatrous and its practices as magic. The process can be observed before the accession of Elizabeth. Bishop John Bale in his The Second Part of the English Votaries (1551) declared that after 1000 A.D. the sacraments of the Church of Rome were defiled with sorceries and its ministers became soothsayers and conjurers.[4] Theodorus was sent to England in A.D. 666, the year with the number of the Beast, and brought with him enchanting, conjuring and exorcism.[5] Thomas points out that in the mythology of Protestantism the middle ages became notorious as times of darkness in which spells and charms masqueraded as religion, and divination was included among the scholastic arts.

Christopher Hill notes that it was the opinion

---

1. Passage of our drad Soveraigne, p.53.
2. ibid., p.57.
3. "For al the gods of the people are idoles:" is the rendering in the Geneva Bible. The Bishops' Bible also has "idols".
4. Second Part of the English Votaries, f.48. cf. Revelation XX.ii-iii, and vii for the loosing of Satan.
5. Actes of the Englysh Votaries (1546), ff.37-37v.

of many Elizabethan bishops that Antichrist had come again in the reign of Mary Tudor.[1] A pamphlet printed abroad (at Wesel?) in 1558 also accuses Mary of harbouring idolatry and magic. Bartholomew Traheron's A Warning to England admonishes Englishmen of the dangers of being ruled by the queen and her "Aegyptian shavelings". It talks of the "sprincling of enchaunted and exchaunted waters" and the eating of charmed bread.[2] As well as harbouring effeminate Ganymedes and strumpets among her courtiers, Mary is spotted with idolatry. Away with the wafer-god cries Traheron, away with conjured water and charmed bread.[3] However he advises England not to let her queen fall into despair.

> Let her not saie in her herte, ... Who shal wipe awaie the spottes of my idolatrie, witchcraft, sorcerie traitorous devises, ...
> A Warning to England, B5-B5v

Even King Manasses who built "chapelles of idolatrie" and maintained sorcerers, witches and enchanters, repented and humbled himself.[4]

Two particular aspects of the theme of Roman Catholicism as a magical religion will now be considered as a prologue to an examination of the literature. The first is that in times of popery magic flourished, and ghosts and spirits wandered, and the second that the practices of papists are identical with those of magicians.

One of the earliest witchcraft pamphlets in English in the period is The Examination of John Walsh (1566). In the preface the printer points out that the conjurer Walsh learned his sorcery from a priest "syr Robert of Dreiton",

> Wherein thou mayest see the fruites of Papistes and papistrye, and their yll exercises of their ydle lyves, which hath bene no small hurt to all common weales.
> Examination of John Walsh, A2

Not only have the simple been misled but all estates have been troubled by the practice of witchcraft and sorcery. Popes and cardinals were given to these detestable sciences.[5] The pamphlet goes on to give

1. Antichrist in Seventeenth Century England, p.11.
2. Warning to England, A2v.
3. ibid., B3.
4. ibid., B5v-B6.
5. Examination of John Walsh, A2.

stories about the magician-popes Alexander VI, Gregory VII, John VIII and others.[1] Monks and friars also used to teach the magical sciences.[2] Reginald Scot in the Discoverie makes the identification of papists and magicians one of his main themes. Saint Paul said that lying wonders were to come and he meant Antichrist the pope by this.[3] The Rood of Grace was nothing inferior to a pagan idol.[4] Gifford says that when the light of God's Word was suppressed, as it was in the days of popery, then the way was made open for the devil,

> Then did conjurers and witches, and enchanters abond:. Then were al manner of charmes rife and common. Then were a thousand magicall inventions and toyes.
>
> Discourse, G2

Hellish arts were widespread in the times of the pagans as they were in the times of popery.[5] Holland described popery as "where all superstition and magicall artes are bred, professed and maintained".[6] The Man of Sin, Antichrist, claimed the keys of Heaven. He confirmed his authority by conjuration and enchantments. Witchcraft became a prop of Antichrist's kingdom and he obtained a reputation for divine power by false miracles.[7]

Many writers were fond of recalling stories of the popes who had been magicians. John Bale's Acta Romanorum Pontificorum (Basle, 1558) was translated by John Studley as The Pageant of the Popes in 1574. Many of the popes practised sorcery, charms and conjuring and had familiarity with devils.[8] The father of Martin II was a necromancer.[9] In the time of Benedict VII monks began to compass honour by conjuring and sorcery. Sylvester II raised the devil from hell, Benedict IX

---

1. Examination of John Walsh, A2-A3v.
2. ibid., A3v.
3. Discoverie, VII.ii, p.130.
4. ibid., VII.vi.
5. Alexander Roberts, Treatise, p.3.
6. Holland, Treatise, iv, G3v.
7. Cooper, Mystery, I.x, pp.194-195.
8. Pageant of the Popes, Translator to the Reader, sig. c.
9. ibid., f.59.

sacrificed to the devil in the woods.[1] From Sylvester II to Gregory VII all the popes were famous enchanters.[2] Bale goes on to extend his list. Alexander Roberts recorded the tradition that Sylvester II did homage to the devil.[3] Gregory VII was singled out by Bernard Garter as an eminent practitioner of magic. He learned it from Cardinal Laurentius and had one special trick to make sparks fly out of his sleeve. He also poisoned six or eight bishops.[4] Gregory once forgot his books of magic art and sent two friends to fetch them. They made the mistake of opening one of the books and were immediately surrounded by devils.[5] Holland lists Sylvester II, Benedict VIII, Gregory VII, John XX, John XXI and Alexander VI as having obtained the papacy by magic arts. They all bore the mark of the Beast.[6] Perkins[7] and Cooper[8] have similar lists.

Not only was the dominance of the Roman Church marked by a flourishing of magic among both clergy and laity, it was also the time that ghosts and spirits walked. This accusation was a variation of the Protestant attack on the doctrine of Purgatory. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether the Protestant writers thought that the apparitions had actually walked or whether they thought that the belief in them was a piece of papist superstition or trickery. Both accusations were useful debating points. Another alternative was that these apparitions were really demons, perhaps raised by papist priest-magicians. King James thought that devils had certainly appeared to Gentiles pretending to be the spirits of dead friends.[9] Lavater's work, De Spectris

---

1. Pageant of the Popes, f.72.
2. ibid., f.73v.
3. Treatise, pp.27-28.
4. Newyeares Gifte, D4.
5. ibid., E-Ev.
6. Treatise, B.
7. Discourse, I.iii, p.10.
8. Mystery, I.iii, p.49.
9. Daemonologie, III.i, p.61.

was translated into English and printed as Of Ghostes and Spirits in 1572. The work of this Lutheran is full of stories of unscrupulous priests pretending to be spirits of the dead and even saints. A controversy arose between some Franciscans and Dominicans about the doctrines concerning the conception of the Virgin. One of the Dominicans dressed up as S.Barbara, the Virgin herself and finally S.Catherine of Siena, and in these disguises instructed the Franciscans.[1] A Franciscan at Orléans pretended to be the deceased wife of the Mayor.[2] A priest at Clavenna pretended to be the Blessed Virgin in order to seduce a girl.[3] In spite of these tales of papist trickery, Lavater's statement that spirits appear on feast days to confirm superstition[4] suggests that he believed that some apparitions were caused by demonic agency. King James in the Daemonologie says that there were more ghosts seen in this island in the times of popery.[5] Harsnet declares that those times were those of heathenish dreams when old women and maids were afraid to cross church-yards.[6] Holland says that among the manifestations of the witchcraft of elder times were sorceries, fairies, goblins and hags, but now the mists of popery are dispersed.[7] Perkins accuses the Church of Rome of deluding men with false apparitions of ghosts.[8]

One aspect of the theme of popish times as those in which magic flourished and walking spirits and lying devils were rampant that has been neglected, is that the establishment of the Gospel by Christian, viz. Protestant princes, has meant that these illusions are now fled, or are at least severely circumscribed. It is possible to see in this idea an analogy with the tradition that the coming of Christ and his Gospel brought about the defeat of the Prince of this world,

---

1. Of Ghostes, I.vii, pp.29-36.
2. ibid., I.viii, 37-39.
3. ibid., I.ix, pp.41-43.
4. ibid., I.xix, p.90.
5. Daemonologie, II.vii, p.54.
6. Egregious Popish Impostures, xxi, p.134.
7. Treatise, I4v.
8. Discourse, I.iv, p.25.

and caused the cessation of oracles. The idea that the coming of Christ and the preaching of the Gospel defeated the devils can be found in several treatises. Holland says guardedly that the ministry of the Gospel gave the devil a great fall in the time of Diocletian, and that the Oracle of Apollo complained that it was hampered by the Christians.[1] The heathen gods were thought to be devils in disguise who encouraged false belief in idols and oracles. The devils made the heathen think they were gods.[2] Scot cites Eusebius[3] and Plutarch's story that great Pan was dead.[4] Gifford says that the coming of Christ revealed the false worship of Satan.[5] Holland cites Peter Martyr who states that at the birth of Christ all oracles ceased.[6]

Reginald Scot makes explicit the analogy between the defeat of false oracles and superstition, and the second coming of the Gospel under Protestant princes suggested above.[7] In Discoverie, VIII, Scot is considering the idea that miracles and oracles are ceased, and concludes that strange delusions shall continue until the end of time. Oracles in fact were transferred from Delphos to Rome. Great doctors may consider that oracles ceased at the coming of Christ

---

1. Treatise, I4.
2. Gifford, Dialogue, E4v.
3. Discoverie, VIII.iii.
4. ibid., VIII.iv.
5. Gifford, Discourse, G2.
6. Treatise, Kv.
7. John Aylmer painted a picture of England telling her children "What greater honour could you or I have than that it pleased Christ as it were in a second birth to be born again of me among you?" William Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation, p.88. John Miller comments that John Foxe's observations on Elizabeth in his Actes and Monuments "encouraged expectations of her that verged on the messianic". Popery and Politics, p.73.

> But if those doctors had lived till this daie, they would have said and written, that oracles had ceased, or rather beene driven out of England in the time of K.Henrie the eight, and of Queene Elizabeth his daughter; who have done so much in that behalfe, as at this houre, here they are not onlie all gone, but forgotten in this English nation, where they swarmed as thicke as they did in Boetia, or in any other place in the world.
> Discoverie, VII.vi, p.166

Holland said that God promised Zachariah that as soon as the Gospel shone forth, the clouds of ignorance would be dispelled.[1] He mentions the fact that the ministry of the Gospel gave the devil a great fall in the time of Diocletian and the complaint of the oracle of Apollo against the Christians.[2] The Persian magi and conjurers laboured against the preaching of the Gospel.[3] Holland then immediately goes on to describe the rotten mists of popery which in the past harboured magic and are now dispelled.[4] The Lutheran Lavater made the same parallel in the context of apparitions. All miracles of the Gentiles ceased when the Apostles began to preach. Now that we have embraced the Gospel all apparitions of spirits have stopped.[5] The Dedicatory Epistle of Ralph Rabbardes prefatory to George Ripley's Compound of Alchymy (1591) appeals to Queen Elizabeth, who dispels the fogs of ignorance and superstition by her light and that of the Gospel, "mauger the Devill, the Pope & the King of Spaine".[6]

The sacraments and sacramentals of the Roman Church were stigmatised as charms and conjuring. Thomas states that the denial of the efficacy of

---

1. Treatise, 12.
2. ibid., I4.
3. ibid., I4v.
4. ibid., I4v.
5. Of Ghostes, III.i, pp.182-183.
6. Compound of Alchymy, A2v.

the Catholic rituals of consecration and exorcism was central to the Protestant attack.[1] James Calfhill thought that the vilest sorcerers on earth were priests who consecrate ashes, salt and oil, and give men the opening verses of S.John's Gospel to wear about their necks.[2] Bishop Pilkington branded the burning of S.Agatha's letters (a remedy for burning houses) as sheer sorcery, and Bishop Hooper thought the Roman Mass as no more estimable than the words of a sorcerer.[3] Richard Greenham and William Tyndale denounced Roman Catholic prayers as spells.[4] Scot makes extended comparisons of popish and magical prayers. Catholic and magical remedies for impotence jostle each other with the implication that they are much the same.[5] There is a long list of "charmes" (i.e. sacramentals) against the falling evil, thieves and other afflictions.[6] Benediction of holy water is a conjuration.[7] Conjurations (i.e. benedictions) from the pontifical are paraded before the reader.[8] Gifford describes the use of holy water, holy bread and crosses against thunderstorms as inventions of the devil.[9] Cooper calls the salt, water and palms of the Church of Rome "visors of Satan".[10]

The rituals of the Roman Church were especially vulnerable to comparisons with the rituals of magicians as many of the latter seem to have been parasitic growths on the former. Benedictions of salt may be found in conjuring books.[11] One

---

1. Thomas, p.52.
2. ibid., p.52.
3. ibid., p.53.
4. ibid., p.61.
5. Discoverie, IV.viii.
6. ibid., XII.ix.
7. ibid., XII.x.
8. ibid., XV.xxvii.
9. Discourse, G2v.
10. Mystery, I.ix, p.168.
11. e.g. Add. Ms. 36674, f.15.

conjuration of spirits invokes them

> by the father, the sonn and the holy ghoste, and by hym which shall comme to judge the worlde both the quicke and the deade, by fyer; and by the natyvyty and Baptisme by the deathe and rysinge agayne of Christe, by the comminge of the holy ghoste our comforter, by holy Mary, the mother of our Lord Jhesus Christe, by hir vyrgynnitye, by the 7. giftes of the holy ghoste, ...
>
> Add.Ms.36674, f.6v

A "Sworne Booke of Honoryus" includes among the prayers to be said by the magician the Ave Maria, Salve Regina and O gloriosa domina,[1] inclusions which would have confirmed the worst suspicions of a Protestant. Conversely some Catholic formulae for the adjuration of unclean spirits are really indistinguishable from magical conjurations.

> Iterum conjuro + vos spiritus supradictos Dei rebelles per haec sanctissima nomina Dei Hel + Heloym + Heloa + Adonay + Sady + Lux + Tetragramaton + Alpha, & Omega + Messias + Sother + Emanuel + Sabaoth + Sapientia + Virtus + Via + Veritas + Vita + Agyos + Otheos + Yschyros + Athanatos + ...
>
> Mengus, Flagellum Daemonum, p.119

An English conjuration compelling a recalcitrant spirit to speak begins

> Thou spirit thou knowest that God doth live + Christ doth overcome + Christ doth rule in heaven in earth, in hel, in the water, & in all places: by the truth of God I conjure thee, by the will of God I do constraine thee by the omnipotency & power of our Lord I do bidd & ꝯmand thee, & by all the holy names of God Messias + Sother + Emanuel + Sabaoth + Adonay + Unigenitus + via + spes + veritas + Homousion + Saday + a & ω + x̄ps + caro + Jesus ...
>
> Add.Ms .36674, f.71

The third and most magical book of Agrippa's De Occulta Philosophia insists on the necessity of religion as an aid to magic.[2] The operator must observe cleanliness,[3] abstinence and chastity.[4]

---

1. Royal Ms. 17.A.XLII, ff.29-30.
2. De Occulta, III.i.
3. ibid., III.liv.
4. ibid., III.lv.

Penitence and almsgiving are also recommended.[1] Agrippa has a chapter on magical consecrations,[2] and one on religious magical rites such as perfumings and anointings.[3] The resemblances to Catholic and especially sacerdotal practices are obvious. Scot was quick to draw parallels. A magician brings souls from heaven and hell with more expedition than the pope from Purgatory.[4] He notes how like the language of conjuration of spirits is to "popish charmes and conjurations".[5] Adjuration of a spirit by the Virgin and her joy at the Resurrection prompts the marginal comment "A popish supplement".[6] Discoverie, XV.xxii is headed "A comparison betweene popish exorcists and other conjurors, ...". Scot notes that

> The papists you see, have their certaine generall rules and lawes, as to absteine from sinne, and to fast, as also otherwise to be cleane from all pollusions, &c: and even so likewise have the other conjurors.
>
> Discoverie, XV.xxix

The first group of literary works to be examined are those concerned with what might be termed the less militant aspects of anti-Catholic feeling. These are the animus against Catholic ceremonies and sacramentals, and the Protestant idea that the ages of popery were those of superstition and ignorance. These ideas are linked together without any magical connotation in several early plays, and these bear witness to the popularity of the themes. Satan's son, the pope, maintains idolatry[7] and he has devised the pretty toys of Masses, trentals and pardons.[8] The installation of the pope again with Mass, holy water, the cross, banners, censers and candles is a dreadful event.[9] New Custom reveals the struggle of the papists

1. De Occulta, III.lvi.
2. ibid., III.lxii.
3. ibid., III.lxiv.
4. Discoverie, XV.i, p.377.
5. ibid., XV.iv, p.394.
6. ibid., XV.xix.
7. Nathaniel Woodes, The Conflict of Conscience, (MSR), 47ff.
8. ibid., 55-58.
9. ibid., 907-915.

Perverse Doctrine and Ignorance against Primitive Constitution (the true name of New Custom) and Light of the Gospel. Ignorance complains of the preaching of New Custom against beads, paxes, crosses, bells, candles, holy salt and so on.[1] New Custom says that popery crept in in times of ignorance.[2] Examples of Protestant attacks of this kind in the early drama of the period could be further documented.

The first play to be examined shows the significance of the change in the externals of religion and its relationship to magic. The Buggbears, written 1563-c.1565, is an adaptation of Grazzini's play La Spiritata, which was first performed at the house of Bernadetto de' Medici in Florence in 1560.[3] The identity of the English adaptor is a matter for conjecture, but the colophon "Soli deo honor et gloria Johannus Jeffere scribebat hoc"[4] suggests that it was one John Jeffere. As well as the main outline of the plot and details of dialogue, much of the magical and spirit material is to be found in Grazzini, including the house-haunting trick, the impersonation of a magician by Trappola, and some of the names of the genera of spirits in Trappola's mystifying catalogue.[5] In addition there are borrowings from Wier's De Praestigiis in the spirit catalogue and charms of Nostradamus, as Bond noted.[6]

---

1. New Custom (Dodsley, Vol.III), p.11.
2. ibid., p.19.
3. R.J.Rodini, Antonfrancesco Grazzini (University of Wisconsin, 1970), p.113.
4. Buggbears, ed. Bond in Early Plays from the Italian, p.153.
5. Buggbears, III.iii. Bond identifies the borrowings in his notes pp.288-294. Bond did not find a source for the name of the devil "Egippias" (Buggbears, III.iii.61), but made the suggestion that it might be from Wier's De Praestigiis, "Satan is called the spirit of Egypt in Isa.XIX (Wier bk.i.c.21)". It is worth noting that the name can be found in the early witchcraft tract by Francis Coxe. According to Coxe, "Egippia" was a devil once called up by Friar Bacon. Short Treatise (1561), A8v.
6. Buggbears, III.iii.80ff., V.ii.118-129.

None of the specifically Roman Catholic allusions in the Grazzini play survive in the English adaptation. Such lines as "io ho udito una messa"[1], "tu ti faresti il segno della croce"[2] and "Ringraziato sia l'Angelo, e Tobbia"[3] disappear without trace. The last is an appropriate exclamation by the nurse of Maddalena, the original for Rosimunda, who feigned possession by the aerial spirit Tintinnago. In the apocryphal book of Tobit, Raphael reveals to Tobias the remedy of the fishy fume to drive away the lustful demon Asmodeus from Sara.[4] The archangel does not survive the adaptation as his cult would have been considered popish.[5] More important is the limiting of the poor householder's resources against the obsessing spirits in The Buggbears. In the Italian play Giovangualberto's first reaction is

> E per questa cagione me ne voglio andare hor' hora à Santa Croce a trovare fra Buonaventura, e consigliarmi seco di questa maladizione: e veder se per via d'orazioni, ò di Salmi; d'Acqua benedetta, ò di Reliquie, io megli posso levar da dosso.[6]

Giovangualberto wants to see the Negromante as well, but he hopes that the Church can provide him with her traditional weapons. These weapons are never mentioned in the English play. The "Astronomer" or cunning-man takes the place of the priest as the first recourse in the English adaptation, a telling dramatic illustration of the process going on in England after the Reformation.

---

1. "I heard a Mass" La Spiritata (ed. Venice, 1582), III.i, f.13 [misfoliated as "f.25"].
2. "you would make the sign of the cross" ibid., III.ii, f.14.
3. "Thanks be to the angel [Raphael] and Tobias" ibid., IV.ii, f.18.
4. Tobit VI.i-vii, VIII.i-iii.
5. The example of Raphael recommending the fish suffumigation to Tobias to drive away Asmodeus seems to have been incorporated in the Catholic benediction of incense. Scot quotes from the benediction, "And that wheresoever the fume or smoke thereof shall come, everie kind and sort of divels may be driven awaie, and expelled; as they were at the increase of the liver of fish, which the archangell Raphael made, &c." Discoverie, XV.xxviii.
6. "And for this reason I want to go immediately to Santa Croce to find Brother Bonaventure and take his advice about this affliction, and to see if I can lift it by means of prayer or the Psalms, by holy water or relics". La Spiritata, I.i, f.5v.

> The Anglican Church had rejected holy water, the sign of the cross, and all the paraphernalia of the Roman Catholic exorcists, but they had nothing to put in their place, save a general injunction to prayer and repentance. The Church thus maintained the traditional view of the potency of witchcraft although it had abandoned the ecclesiastical counter-magic ... In such circumstances, it was only to be expected that the remedies of the sorcerer should have appeared increasingly attractive.
>
> Thomas, p.265

A "Conffesour" is eventually mentioned by Amedeus.[1] Cantaluppo was preoccupied with the thought of his prospective young wife, so Amedeus decided to go for spiritual advice. Again there is a dramatic illustration of Thomas' remarks. He comments that the post-Reformation Church, instead of providing active defence against the unseen, could only advise patience, endurance, submission to the will of God, and faith.[2] Amedeus' ghostly father lectured him in a markedly Protestant way on obsession as a punishment for a sinful life, and on the necessity of amendment.[3] This passage has no original in Grazzini. Such cold comfort can be found in the treatises. Lavater says that God allows spirits to afflict men so that the faithful may be moved to repentance.[4] Gifford advises those that are suffering from bewitchment to repent.[5] Most interesting of all are the statements of Holland's orthodox spokesman, Theophilus, who says that houses are troubled with strange apparitions because of sin, and that the masters of such households should draw near to God by repentance. He gives a moral code of behaviour as a means of lifting the obsession.

Misogonus, assigned the limits 1560-1577 by Harbage, reveals the times of popery as those of flourishing ignorance which breed superstition and magical trickery. Misogonus has had the misfortune to be brought up without any discipline, and has acquired bad habits.[7]

1. Buggbears, III.ii.14.
2. Thomas, pp.78-79.
3. Buggbears, III.ii.13-21.
4. Of Ghostes, III.i, pp.175-178.
5. Dialogue, D2.
6. Treatise, Hv-H2.
7. For another "popish foole" see Moros in Wager's The Longer thou Livest.

Significantly his bad companions have papist inclinations, which are discernible in their oaths. They swear by the Mass,[1] S.Loy,[2] and "Gods sacringe".[3] One of the young man's disreputable companions is Sir John the priest[4] who is a member of the old régime, wanting nothing of the new upstart generation of ministers.[5] Eupelas, in a fit of temper, hurls at him two stock accusations against Catholic priests, sodomy and idolatry.[6] Sir John, it is also implied, may be a conjurer. While shaking dice he cries "Now Markus Marcurius helpe thy master at a pinch".[7] The obvious implication is that this is a plea for help from a familiar spirit. It is against the background of papist times as those of ignorance and superstition that Cacurgus' assumption of the role of a cunning-man must be seen. He is a member of the group of the youth's bad companions, and can be seen as the play's Vice and Misogonus' bad angel. He attempts to hinder the appearance of the good son Eugonus, who on his arrival gives pious (and Protestant) thanks to Jehovah.[8] The characters that Cacurgus tries to dupe are the rustics Madge and Isbell. Now the other rustic characters, Codrus and Alison, show lamentable signs of papist superstition and are rebuked by Philologus for praying for his dead wife. The antithesis in the play between the old (Catholic) learning and the new (Protestant) learning comes out clearly.

> Co. ... thers near a day but I have hir in my bede role
> I say a deprofundus for hir erie night according
> toth olde rate
> Phi. Pray for hir no more but rather give god praise

---

1. Misogonus (ed. Bond in Early Plays from the Italian), I.iii.27.
2. ibid., I.iii.44.
3. ibid., II.iv.159. Compare the oaths of Perverse Doctrine, an old popish priest in New Custom, - by the Mass (p.7), by God's sacrament (p.24) and by S.Mary (p.41).
4. Sir John was a common nickname for Catholic priests. Compare Nathaniel Woodes, The Conflict of Conscience (MSR), 941.
5. Misogonus, II.iv.63-64.
6. These accusations may be found passim in Bale's Pageant of the Popes and Actes of the English Votaries. In Bale's Three Laws, popish characteristics are attributed to both Sodomy and Idolatry (a witch).
7. Misogonus, II.iv.167.
8. ibid., IV.i.67.

your praiers are but superstitious & she
I hopes at rest
yow love hir it semes so did I, & shall doe
all my daies
but now to praye for our selves here while
we live I count it best
Co. Low yow Alison wer Moster is oth new larninge ...
III.i.152-158

So it is upon the rustic characters in the play, who are still in a state of popish ignorance, that a character hindering the entrance of the new learning plays his fraud. Cacurgus boasts of his magical powers and claims an exotic ancestry, calling himself "a trwe egiptian".[1] Egypt was associated with both magic[2] and popery, with the first because of Pharaoh's magicians, and with the second because of the use made by Protestants of the Old Testament narrative of godly Israel (England) brought out from Egyptian (papist) captivity.[3] Cacurgus impersonates a cunning-man and offers his services as a "southsaier & magission"[4] and a quack-doctor.[5] The tale he tells is one of fairies and changelings,[6] the sort of story that Protestants claimed abounded in the days of the old religion. The dramatist forces Cacurgus into a neat piece of self-revelation in his quack remedy for Madge's toothache. Various substances are to be mixed up with "an ownce of poperye",[7] a joke reminiscent of Scot's accusations of superstitious Catholic charms for ailments. Isbell adds another nuance to the joke with her innocent comment,

Thats a wede I thinke we lay people call popye
Ist not that yow meane which the good corne doth wast
III.iii.141-142

---

1. Misogonus, III.iii.33.
2. The magical sciences are called the sops and dregs of Egypt in Coxe, Short Treatise, Av.
3. See Actes and Monuments (ed. 1576), p.738 for Israel as a type of the true Church. On the title-page of Kirchmeyer's anti-Catholic The Popish Kingdome (trans. Barnabe Googe, 1570), there is a quote from 2 Timothy III "Lyke as Jannes and Jambres withstoode Moises, even so doe these also resist the truth". Here papists are identified with Pharaoh's magicians. A line in Woodes, Conflict of Conscience (167) gives as one type of the persecuted Church the Egyptian captivity of Israel.
4. Misogonus, III.iii.43.
5. ibid., III.iii.45-46.
6. ibid., III.iii.101-102.
7. ibid., III.iii.139.

These lines obviously refer to the parable of the wheat and the tares (Matthew XIII.xxiv-xxx) with the implication that popery chokes the growth of the kingdom of God.

The so-called "ecclesiastical eclogues" of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar occasionally reveal the theme of the times of popery as those of ignorance, superstition and magic. In the February Eclogue there is the tale of the Oak and the Briar. The Oak

> ... had bene an auncient tree,
> Sacred with many mysteree,
> And often crost with the priestes crewe,
> And often halowed with holy water dewe.
> But sike fancies weren foolerie,
> And broughten this Oake to this myserye.
> Shepherd's Calendar (Variorum Minor Poems, Vol.I), February, 207-212

Renwick and Collier[1] detected allusions to Druidical practice in these lines. This is part of the allusion. E.K. provides the other part in his comments on the Catholic habit of sprinkling holy water on trees to guard them from misfortune, "Such blindnesse was in those times ...". Both Druids and popish priests practised heathenish superstition in the days before the Gospel shone in England, the Druids before the conversion of these islands, the papists before the restoration of the Gospel by the Reformation.[2]

The May Eclogue, the debate between a Protestant and Catholic minister, provides the story of the Fox and the Kid. The Variorum edition (pp.304-305) notes that the fox was a common symbol for the recusant or papist.[3] He appears in the fable as a pedlar of superstition who tricks the "credulous kidde".

---

1. Cited Variorum Minor Poems, Vol. I, p.265.
2. In the English translation of Van der Noodt as Theatre for Worldlings (1569), which included Spenser's translations of some poems by Petrarch and Du Bellay, there is a reference to papists making idols of trees, f.35.
3. See also Van der Noodt's comparison of popish prelates to "Foxes destroying the vineyarde of the Lorde". Theatre for Worldlings, f.35v.
4. cf. the resolution of Spenser's other fox to disguise himself as a Pilgrim, Gipsy, or Juggler. Mother Hubbard's Tale, 83-86.

> But all as a poore pedler he did wend,
> Bearing a trusse of tryfles at hys backe,
> As bells, and babes, and glasses in hys packe.
> May, 238-240

Spenser must have been thinking of that other ecclesiastical pedlar in the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales of his master Chaucer. The Pardoner sold false relics like a pedlar.[1] One of E.K.'s comments on this Eclogue, that on the identification of Christ with Pan in line 54, gives the stories mentioned above of the cessation of oracles caused by the arrival of the kingdom of Christ. At that time, says E.K.

> all Oracles surceased, and enchaunted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth held theyr peace ...

This suggests an analogy between the cosening papists, one of whose number deceived the kid, and the lying oracles. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that E.K. says that Lavater "in his booke of walking sprightes" gives the story of the cessation of oracles. As has been noted, Lavater was one of the writers who made explicit the parallel between the striking dumb of the oracles and the cessation of apparitions caused by countries embracing the Gospel.

The July Eclogue specifically identifies popish priests as magicians. "These wisards weltre in welths waves" (line 197). There is however some controversy over the objects of the satire in the September Eclogue. Higginson[2] thinks that the poem is an attack on the Anglican Church disguised as an attack on the Roman Church. Renwick[3] is more guarded and thinks that an

---

1. General Prologue, 694ff. Note especially the similarity between Spenser's "glasses" in line 240 and Chaucer's "And in a glas he hadde pigges bones". This suggests that Spenser may have been thinking of reliquaries. E.K., while identifying the pedlar's trumperies as sacramentals, glosses the "glasses" as "paxes". The pedlar's bag contains "the reliques and ragges of popish superstition, which put no smal religion in Belles: and Babies .s. Idoles: and glasses .s. Paxes, and such lyke trumperies." See also the animus against superstitious sacramentals in van der Noodt, Theatre for Worldlings, f.19v.
2. Variorum, p.352.
3. ibid., p.353.

attack on the Anglican Church (if any) begins at line 112. The lines before 112 contain familiar accusations against the Church of Rome that it stirs up dissention (86-87). The Eclogue accuses the Roman priests of conjuring,

> They boast that they han the devill at commaund;
> But aske hem therefore, what they han pound.
> Marrie that great Pan bought with deare borrow,
> September, 94-96

Critics have been chary of interpreting these lines.[1] Seen in the light of the discussions in this chapter the lines become more lucid. Although Spenser could conceivably be referring to Rome's claim that she had power over devils in that she held the keys of Heaven and Hell, I would suggest that Spenser is alluding to the Roman Church's assertion that her priests had power to exorcise. The Reformed Church claimed that it was an extraordinary power peculiar to Christ and possibly the Early Church, but had long since ceased. As a result Catholic exorcisms were at best self-delusions, and at worst conjuring.[2] So the lines may be interpreted as follows. Catholics boast that they command the devil in their exorcisms.[3] What have they given to the devil for this? Their immortal souls, that is, the devil only leaves the body of the demoniac because of a pact with the exorcist.[3]

As might be expected Joseph Hall, successively Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, presents the times of popery as those of spirits and devilry. In an elegy

---

1. See for example Renwick's exasperated "What then does line 94 mean?" Variorum, p.357.
2. This is the opinion of Bishop Jewel. Bishop Joseph Hall described Catholic exorcism as "foul superstition and gross magic". Thomas, p.479.
3. E.K.'s comment on the potentially enigmatic "that" in line 96 is "that is, their soules, which by popish Exorcismes and practises they damne to hell". This may or may not confirm the interpretation suggested, as "exorcism" was commonly used in the period as a synonym for "magic".

on William Whitaker,[1] Hermae (1596), he laments the death of the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. The elegy is conventional in content and manner and is mentioned here because of its two verses on Whitaker as an opponent of the evils of superstitious Catholicism which make their appearance as the spirits banished by Protestanism.[2] Whitaker's death means that they might return.

> Now shall the wanton Devils daunce in rings
> In everie mede, and everie heath nore:
> The Elvish Faeries, and the Gobelins:
> The hoofed Satyres silent heretofore:
> Religion, virtue, Muses, nolie mirth
> Have now forsworne the late forsaken earth.
>
> The Prince of Darknesse gins to tyrannize,
> And reare up cruel Trophees of his rage:
> Faint earth through her despairing cowardice
> Yeelds up her selfe to endlesse vassalage:
> What Champion now shal tame the power of hell,
> And the unrulie spirits overquell?
> Hermae (Poems, ed. Davenport), 25-36

As a matter of passing interest, Hall also displays the idea that sacramentals of the old religion were magical. As Davenport notes (p.277), he translated some verses from the Sacrarum Ceremoniarum (Rome, 1560, f.38) on the benediction of the agnus dei in his A Serious Dissuasive from Popery prefixed to his The Peace of Rome (1609).

> Balsame, pure Wax, and Chrismes-liquor cleare,
> Make up this precious Lamb, I send thee here;
> All lightning it dispels, and each ill spright,
> Remedies sinne, and makes the heart contrite.
> Even as the bloud that Christ for us did shed:
> It helpes the child-beds paines; & gives good speed
> Unto the birth; Great gifts it still doth win
> To all that weare it, and that worthy bin:
> It quels the rage of fire; and cleanely bore
> It brings from shipwracke safely to the shore.
> Davenport, p.156

---

1. "William Whitaker (1548-1595) was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1580 and quickly became the recognized champion of the most Calvinistic section of opinion within the Church of England. ... Whitaker was famous for his polemics against Rome." Davenport, p.158.
2. It is possible to see some traces of the idea that popery is pagan and devilish in Virgidemiarum, Bk.IV, satire vii. Caesar's throne has become Peter's chair (12), and the shrine of Cybele a church to the Virgin (19-20). Hall goes on to mention the Pope's "horned Miter" (22).

The context in A Serious Dissuasive makes it clear that Hall regards Catholic sacramentals as popish magic. He demands of the papist he is addressing "What is it then that could thus bewitch you ... ?".[1] The papist's religion calls on him to put faith in those toys of sacramentals. Hall then goes on to give his translation and stigmatises papist practices as "superstition, magic, blasphemy".[2]

In a passage in The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon by Munday and Chettle,[3] the playwright juggles with the ideas of sacramentals as magic, monks, nuns and devils, in what amounts to one long bawdy and anti-Catholic joke.[4] King John in his pursuit of the chaste Matilda finds instruments in the nunnery in which Matilda has taken refuge. The Abbess and her lover the Monk of Bury act as the King's

---

1. Hall, Works, ed. Wynter, Vol.VIII, p.366.
2. ibid., Vol.VIII, pp.367-368. The Latin verses on the agnus dei, ascribed by the Sacrarium Ceremoniarum to Pope Urban V, were popular in anti-Catholic propaganda. They were often translated and equated with charms. They may be found, in both Latin and an English translation in Philips van Marnix's Beehive of the Romishe Church (edition of 1580), ff.243-243v. Scot quotes them in a chapter entitled "Popish periapts, amulets and charmes ...". He states that the English translation he gives us is by Abraham Fleming. Discoverie, XII.ix. Bernard Garter gives them in a translation of his own in A Newyeares Gifte, H.
3. The shares in the authorship are a matter of debate (MSR, pp.viii-ix). The editor of the Malone Society edition inclines to the view that the play is "either primarily or exclusively the work of Munday". p.ix.
4. Among other anti-Catholic references in the play is the description of the attempt of the Prior to poison King Richard. The drug is diverted to Robin and is described by the Prior as

> " ... sent mee from Rome.
> There's in it Moly, Syrian Balsamum,
> Golds rich Elixer: "
> sc.iii, 251-253

The herb moly has magical associations because of the Ulysses and Circe story, and it is possible that Balsamum may be thought of in the context of the agnus dei verses cited above.

pandars. The Abbess asks Matilda if she has had any strange visions since coming to the nunnery.

Ma. No, I thanke God.
Ab. Truly you will, you will:
Except you take good heede and blesse your selfe.
For if I lie but on my backe a while,
I am past recovery, sure of a bad dreame.
You see yon reverend Monke: now God he knowes,
I love him dearer for his holinesse:
And I beleeve the divell knowes it too:
For the foule fiend comes to me many a night,
As like the monke, as if he were the man.
Many a hundred nights, the Nuns have seene:
Pray, cry, make crosses, doe they what they can.
Once gotten in, then doe I fall to worke,
My holy water bucket being neere hand,
I whisper secret spelles, and conjure him,
That the foule fiend hath no more powre to stand:
He downe, as I can quickly get him laid,
I blesse my selfe, and like a holy maid,
Turne on my right side, where I sleepe all night,
Without more dreames, or troubling of the spright.
Robert Earl of Huntingdon (MSR), 2462-2481

Accusations of lechery against the monastic orders were common in Protestant propaganda,[1] and Scot especially, in his chapters on the incubus, provides parallels to this passage. Scot continually makes the point that popish priests were incubi. One passage provides a connection between a bawd, a priest as incubus, and Catholic counter-magic.

> Furthermore, old witches are sworne to procure as manie yoong virgins for Incubus as they can, whereby in time they growe to be excellent bawds: but in this case the preest plaieth Incubus. For you shall find that confession to a preest, and namely this word Benedicite, driveth Incubus awaie, when Ave Maries, crosses, and all other charmes faile.
> Discoverie, IV.ii, p.75

---

1. See Bale, Actes of the English Votaries, passim. Stories of the lechery of the clergy are of course familiar from mediaeval literature. However, after the Reformation such tales had an anti-Catholic rather than an anti-clerical flavour. Scot, claiming that Chaucer "smelt out the absurdities of poperie", revives the lines from The Wife of Bath's Tale on the Friar-incubus in a new magical and anti-Catholic context. Discoverie, IV.xii.

The supposed devil takes the shape of the monk to molest the Abbess. Scot gives the story of an incubus that came to a lady's bed and when she cried out and people came to her aid the devil was found under the bed in the likeness of S.Sylvanus.[1] Scot, having mounted his hobby-horse, goes on to give stories of S.Christine, who took another's incubus upon herself, S.Bernard's staff which frightened away incubi, and saints who became chaste by miracles, including the monk Helias who had ruled over nuns for two years and became very hot in the cod-piece.[2] Scot triumphantly affirms that the opinion of the incubus is

> speciallie to excuse and mainteine the knaveries and lecheries of idle priests and bawdie monkes; and to cover the shame of their lovers and concubines.
>
> Discoverie, IV.x, p.85

As a final detail the Abbess'

> I blesse my selfe, and like a holy maid,
> Turne on my right side: where I sleepe all night.

may be compared with Scot's advice to those troubled with the incubus, which he considers to be a natural disease.

> They are most troubled with this disease, that being subject thereunto, lie right upward: so as, to turne and lie on the one side, is present remedie.
>
> Discoverie, IV.xi

The sacramentals, with which the Abbess conjures the incubus, are "spelles" and the language of conjuration in turn has sexual meanings. The joke is taken further as Matilda accuses the tempters of being devils themselves and attempts to defend herself with sacramentals.[3] The same triple levels of meaning, religion as conjuring, conjuration as sex, are again in evidence. The whole provides a doubly-damning accusation (magic and lechery) against the Abbess and the Monk.

---

1. Discoverie, IV.v.
2. ibid., IV.v, IV.vii.
3. Robert Earl of Huntingdon, 2529.

Any interpretation of the symbolism and allegory in The Faerie Queene, Book I involves the interpreter in an expedition into the Wandering Wood, unaccompanied by either Truth or Redcross, from which he may not escape undevoured by the Echidnan monster Error. An examination of Appendix VII to the Variorum edition reveals the various attempts at an historical interpretation. However some assumptions may be made. One is that Book I contains both a religious and an ecclesiastical allegory. That is to say that Una sometimes represents both Truth and the True (Reformed) Church and that Duessa represents Falsehood and the False (Roman) Church.[1] The examination here attempted will confine itself to what is suggested by the use of magical incidents and allusions to magic in Book I, interpreting the material against the background described at the beginning of this chapter. A study along these lines has been made by D. Douglas Waters in his Duessa as Theological Satire (University of Missouri, Columbia, 1970). He identifies the connexion made by Protestants between magic and the Church of Rome especially in their use of this idea in the figurative language of Protestant writings. This figurative language he finds especially applied to the doctrines and rituals of the Roman Church and he provides numerous references documenting the connexion.[2] Waters' central thesis is that Duessa represents "Mistress Missa", the Roman Mass, which is seen as both seductive and magical, and the magical references in Book I are to its deceptive, enervating and degrading powers. The stripping of Duessa reveals the Mass as the vile

---

1. Even this allegory must not be applied too rigorously, and the fact that Spenser is writing a chivalric romance with its own inherent values must be kept in mind. For example a consistent reading of Una as "Truth" runs into difficulties when Una fails to identify Archimago in his disguises, as she does iii 26, vi.35-36. In a chivalric romance it is quite appropriate that a heroine may be tricked by an unscrupulous and subtle magician.
2. Waters, pp.9-13.

practice it really is.[1] I am not convinced that Spenser's main attack is on the Mass. It would appear that the weight of critical opinion interprets the target more generally as the Church of Rome as an evil institution, a tyrannical power and the guardian of false doctrine. It will be suggested that magic is an essential symbol in the struggle between true and false religion in Book I. This struggle is seen as an historical one in the wider sense of the conflict of religion under the protection of secular and imperial authority and religion fostered by the perverse Papacy.[2] This idea was of course an important one in the Elizabethan period as it provided a background to the state's struggle for governance in religious matters, against the claims of Rome to be the final authority in these matters. As Protestant writers were fond of finding and using nistorical types for this struggle, I shall not usually attempt to find explanations of the incidents in Book I in specific events in the history of the English Reformation.[3]

At the opening of Book I of The Faerie Queene, we are given a picture of Redcross in his armour, armour which commentators usually refer to the spiritual weapons of the Christian in Ephesians VI.xiii-xvii. I do not find the verses preceding these generally noticed.

---

1. If Waters' interpretation of the stripping of Duessa is correct, one wonders what Spenser's Gloriana would have thought of such a violent and scabrous attack on the Mass. The Queen left in rage an anti-Catholic production by Cambridge students in August 1564, which portrayed a mock-Mass depicting the Host in a dog's mouth. Neale, Queen Elizabeth I, p.212.
2. Una's claim is to an imperial ancestry of the universal Church, for she
   " ... by descent from Royall lynage came
   Of ancient Kings and Queenes, that had of yore
   Their scepters stretcht from East to Westerne shore,
   And all the world in their subjection held;"
   I.i.5
   Duessa on the other hand claims a more restricted Roman parentage. I.ii.22.
3. For example, the fight of Redcross with Error (I.i. 14-26) has been seen as both the Henrican and Elizabethan Reformation. The imagery of a shining knight coming into the dark den of Error (of which the Papists were thought to have a monopoly) could apply to either. The same is true of the parbreak of pamphlets from the monster's mouth (I.i.20).

> Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the assaults of the devill. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, and against the princes of darkenes of this worlde, against spiritual wickednesses, which are in the hie places.
> Geneva Bible, Ephesians VI.xi-xii.

These verses were interpreted by exegetes as signifying the spiritual struggle of the Christian. Writers on witchcraft also used them in connexion with the assaults of the devil on man in a physical sense.[1] That is, the Gospel and the Christian faith were a sure defence against witchcraft. Thus in terms of the story, Redcross is going out to do battle against the magical powers of darkness, even as on the spiritual level of the moral allegory, man goes out in life to struggle against temptation.

Having defeated the monster Error,[2] Redcross and Una go on to meet Archimago. In common with Howard, Whitney[3] and others, I believe Archimago to represent the papacy and the pope as the representative of that institution.[4] I believe that the representation of the pope as a magician, and his separation of Redcross and Una, refers particularly to those ages of darkness before the Reformation in which magic flourished and popes worked false miracles. During

---

1. See, for example, Gifford, Discourse, I3-I3v.
2. I do not think that anyone has noticed the peculiar appropriateness of the simile of the inundation of the Nile (I.i.21) for the vomiting forth of the pamphlets, frogs and toads. These frogs may be referred to Gifford's identification of the frogs of Revelation XVI.xiii-xiv as Jesuits and seminary priests. Sermons upon the Whole Booke of the Revelation, p.317. Although the details of the simile itself may be found in classical sources (Variorum, pp.184-187), it should be remembered that Egypt was popular in Protestant writings as a symbol for the Roman Church, as was noted above. See also I.v.18 where Duessa is compared to the Egyptian crocodile. The description of the "seven-mouthed Nile" suggests an association with Duessa's seven-headed beast in Canto viii.
3. Variorum, pp.453,456.
4. Scot has a parallel to the construction of the name "Archimago". In a chapter on popish magic he refers to a charm "given by the pope, or some other such arch-conjuror". Discoverie, XII.ix, p.231.

these times the Christian community was bereft of truth and the true faith. That Spenser was familiar with the idea of the papist ages of ignorant superstition has been suggested in the course of the examination of the magical allusions in the Shepherd's Calendar. Further we find Ignaro (Ignorance) keeping the castle of Orgoglio, who is usually seen as signifying the Roman Church in some way.[1] Una discovers the ignorant and sightless Corceca in darkness and telling her beads in blind devotion.[2]

Archimago's appearance is monastic and eremetical. In answer to the request of Redcross for news he replies,

> Ah my dear Sonne (quoth he) how should, alas,
> Silly old man, that lives in hidden cell,
> Bidding his beades all day for his trespas,
> Tydyngs of warre and worldly trouble tell?
> With holy father sits not with such things to mell.
> I.i.30

The whole passage must be ironic. "Holy father" must surely allude to the mode of address of faithful Catholics to the pope, and as for not meddling with worldly affairs, Protestants claimed the pope never ceased. The depiction of a magician as a monastic figure with beads and cell reminds one of Protestant stories of cleric-magicians in the middle ages. Bullinger's commentary on Revelation XIII.xiii,[3] the passage on the false prophet working miracles, embodies this idea. He identifies the prophet's miracles as the false wonders of the Roman Church and mentions the "myracles of Monkes and Eremites". He complains that the Roman Church uses false miracles

---

1. FQ, I.viii.31-34.
2. ibid., I.iii.13-14.
3. J.E. Hankins, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory, pp.99-119, argues for the importance of the Apocalypse for the structure, incidents and details in FQ, Book I. He identifies Archimago as the False Prophet of Revelations XIII.xiii and notes that van der Noodt saw the False Prophet as the pope (pp.105-106). The propositions here put forward are in accord with those of Hankins and take his argument further.

to confirm the false doctrines of prayer to saints, images and pilgrimages.[1] Bullinger goes on in the same sermon to mention the magician-popes Sylvester II and Benedict IX. Sylvester II, he says, citing Benno, came at the time when the Apocalypse said that the devil would rage again.[2] It has been noted above that Bale identified the time of the raging devil with that of the blooming of magic within the Roman Church, and its ministers becoming conjurers.

Archimago's entertainment of Redcross and Una consists of telling them stories of saints and popes, interspersed with pious Ave Marias.[3] This may be referred to tales of the superstitious papist ages, especially those in the Legenda Aurea, which is often mentioned in this connexion.[4] Archimago's saying of the "Hail Mary" may be compared with the blind and ignorant devotion of Corceca and her "thrise nine hundred Aves".

Archimago is quickly revealed as a magician and a ceremonialist with books and names of power.[6] It has been seen that Protestants were fond of recounting tales of pope-magicians, and that Scot was quick to point out the similarity of popish practices with those of ceremonial magic. Before any allegorical interpretation is attempted, it should be remembered

---

1. A Hundred Sermons, f.181v.
2. ibid., ff.188-188v.
3. FQ, I.i.35.
4. Fulke in his Praelections on the Apocalypse includes marvellous legends of the saints among the lying miracles of the False Prophet. Praelections, f.87v. Gifford, who makes the same point, specifically names the Legenda Aurea, Sermons, p.258.
5. FQ, I.iii.13. Beatrice Ricks, "Catholic Sacramentals and Symbolism in Spenser's The Faerie Queene", JEGP, 52 (1953), pp.322-331, expresses the opinion that sacramentals are proper or improper (superstitious) in FQ depending on the character of the user. Archimago's and Corceca's use must brand them as superstitious.
6. It should perhaps be mentioned that this examination takes cognizance of the use of magic paraphernalia by some enchanters in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso.

that Protestants in depicting the pope as a magician were not necessarily using a satiric simile, but recording a statement which they believed could be historically documented. Waters is also correct in his statement that Catholic priests and teachers were referred to as conjurors.[1] So the lines describing Archimago's conjuring,

> He bad awake blacke Plutoes griesly Dame,
> And cursed heaven, and spake reproachfull shame
> Of highest God, the Lord of life and light;
> I.i.37

can have both literal and metaphorical applications. The literal is that popes actually did blaspheme against God in practising magic, in the process of which they may have denied the Deity by making a pact with the devil. The metaphorical meaning is that the doctrines and practices of the papacy are blasphemous and shameful in that they are heathenish and magical perversions of the true Christian faith.

The comments of Waters[2] on the language of false illusions applied by Protestants to Catholic doctrines are pertinent to Archimago's apparitions. Commentators on Revelation XIII.xiii interpreted the false miracles of the prophet as illusions disseminated by the Roman Church.[3] In fact in technical demonological terms Archimago summons up demons to act as incubi in disturbing Redcross's dreams. I would suggest that Spenser knew of the technicality as he twice says that the magician invested the spirits with bodies of "liquid ayre" or "subtile aire". The motivation by a spiritual being of an airy body was the means by which it made itself sensible to men.

---

1. Duessa as Theological Satire, p.11.
2. ibid., p.27ff.
3. Bullinger, A Hundred Sermons, f.181v ff.; Fulke, Praelections, f.87v; Gifford, Sermons, p.255ff.
4. FQ, I.i.45, I.ii.3.

The theory was frequently mentioned in connexion with the explanation of how _incubi_ copulated with mortals.[1] Interestingly the spirit sits upon the prone body of Redcross, the classic position of the _incubus_. Redcross abandons Una, believing her to be unchaste. The allegorical interpretation of the Archimago episode that suggests itself is as follows. Redcross, whom I take to be the Christian community, the body of the Church, as well as the Christian individual, is separated from Truth embodied in the True Church. This is done through the machinations of the papacy which is infected with magical arts. I suggest that this refers to Protestant claims that the Roman Church became a devilish and magical institution both literally, because of actual magic practised by popes and priests, and metaphorically, because of the papacy's perversion of pure belief into the doctrine of devils. The True Church is forced to go wandering in the desert places.[2]

Waters' interpretation of Duessa was noted above. It sees Duessa as the popish Mass. I find this reading too narrow, but agree with Waters in his suggestion of the importance of the connexion with both magic and seductiveness in Duessa's character. An examination of Protestant interpretations of the Apocalypse reveals a far wider reading of the figure

---

1. For the scholastic explanation of how spirits do not have bodies, but can assume them, see Aquinas, _De Potestate_, Q.6, articles 6-8. Article 7, _ad_ 7, says that the most appropriate body for an angel is aerial. Article 8, _ad_ 5, gives the theory of how _incubi_ can generate. The _incubus_ theory is found in the same context in the _Summa_, and is similarly stated _Pars_ I, Q.51, article 3, _ad_ 6. The relationship between an incorporeal essence of an angel and the body it moves is the central metaphor of Donne's _Aire and Angels_. Scot ridicules the scholastic _incubus_ theory as he found it in the _Malleus_ in _Discoverie_, IV.ii.
2. The Biblical typologies of Una's wanderings are those of Israel's exile in the desert and the flight of the woman clothed with the sun of Revelation XII.

of the Whore than that suggested by Waters. All the commentaries in English that I have examined, those of Fulke (1573), Bullinger (1573), Marlorat (1574), Brocardo (1582) and Gifford (1596), interpret the figure of Babylon more generally. The Whore of Revelation XVII is the Roman Church and her false doctrines. To be sure the Mass is sometimes included among them, but it is never outstanding and takes its place in a catalogue of blasphemies along with images, pardons, idolatry and so on. The jewels and scarlet clothes of Babylon are interpreted as the ceremonies, pomps, vestments and sacramentals of the Roman Church.

Spenser, in the figure of Duessa, is, I think, combining the attributes of the Whore of the Apocalypse and the classical witch Circe. There is no need to demonstrate that Spenser was familiar with Circe, as he uses the classical figure and its allegorical interpretations extensively in Book II of The Faerie Queene. Spenser may have found the connexion already made between the two figures, thus identifying Babylon as a witch, in commentaries on Revelation. Bullinger refers to Babylon's cup (Revelation XVII.iv) as "the cup of Circes",[1] and to Babylon herself as the classical witch.

> Furthermore lest any should be ignoraunt what the same women were, which is here set forth to be sene, and that all might flee that great witche Circes, ...
>
> A Hundred Sermons, f.233

The contents of the cup of gold are referred to by Fulke as both bewitching and poisonous.[2] However the influence of Circe on Duessa goes deeper than this.

---

1. A Hundred Sermons, f.233.
2. Praelections, f.111v.

The comments of Protestants on the seductive and depraving effects of the fornications of the kings of the earth (Revelation XVII.ii) would have suggested to Spenser the allegorical significations of Circe's transformations as the degrading effects of sensual pleasure.[1] The transformation of Fradubio and Fraelissa into trees is reminiscent of Ovidian metamorphoses, especially as an inversion of the story of the transformation of the faithful and devoted Baucis and Philemon into trees.[2] Duessa's technique of transformation in the case of Fradubio, smearing his body with herbs and ointments (I.ii.43), recalls that other classical expert in changing shapes, Pamphile in The Golden Ass.[3]

In accompanying Duessa, Redcross is committing spiritual fornication with the False Church. Again Waters rightly identifies the phenomenon of "spiritual lust", but tends to see it in all sorts of unlikely places in The Faerie Queene, Book I. The essence of the spiritual seduction of the knight is set out in the marginal annotations to Revelation XVIII.iii in the Genevan Bible. They state that the greater part of the world has been seduced by spiritual whoredom.

An important stanza showing the Babylon-Circe conflation in Duessa is the witch's temporary defeat of Arthur's squire.

---

1. The common attribute of both Babylon and Circe is the mysterious cup, the draught of which was interpreted by both mythographers of Ovid and exegetes of the Apocalypse as degrading and debauching.
2. Metamorphoses, VIII.618-724.
3. The Golden Ass (Loeb), p.131.

Then tooke the angrie witch her golden cup,
Which still she bore, replete with magick artes;
Death and despeyre did many thereof sup,
And secret poyson through their inner parts,
Th'eternall bale of heavie wounded harts;
Which after charmes and some enchauntments said,
She lightly sprinkled on his weaker parts;
Therewith his sturdie courage soone was quayd,
And all his senses were with suddeine dread dismayd.
I.viii.14

The first four lines can be explained from commentaries on the Apocalypse. The cup of abominations is seen as false worship and false teaching.[1] Fulke interpreted it as an outward show of religion. He says that the cup is bewitching and the contents are a deadly poison. They make mad the drinkers, depriving them of their judgement.[2] I suggested earlier that Spenser took the details of murmuring enchantments over the cup and the sprinkling of its contents from Metamorphoses, XIV. The aspersion of the contents on the "weaker parts" of the Squire also recalls the description in this passage of the transformation of Scylla who was of course transformed from the waist down. Sandys, who was in the tradition of Continental mythography, gives the allegorical significance of this detail as the divine part of man degenerating when he gives in to "the lowe delights of those baser parts of the body".[3] This accords with Fulke's comments on Babylon's cup depriving man of his judgement. An allegorical reading of this incident would run as follows. The False Church intoxicates man with the wine of false teaching, the outward shows of religion, the superstitious doctrine of

---

1. Bullinger, A Hundred Sermons, f.233.
2. Praelections, f.111v.
3. Metamorphosis, p.475.

devils. This enfeebles the Christian and degrades him, a process we have already seen in the seduction and weakening of Redcross by Duessa. Arthur, who is usually taken as Grace, rescues the Squire and defeats Duessa and the Beast with the diamond shield representing Christian Faith and the Gospel.[1] One might further draw a parallel between Duessa's conjuring of the contents of the cup and the subsequent sprinkling of them on the Squire, with Protestant identifications of the benediction of holy water and Catholic ritual aspersion as magical ceremonies. This would agree with a reading of Babylon's cup as false and superstitious doctrines.

So far the works considered have been seen as comments on the themes of ignorance, superstition and magic in connexion with popery. The works extend in the main from the early days of Elizabeth's reign to the 1590s. The next group of works to be examined, although still referring occasionally to these themes, reveals the activities of the Roman Church as dissentious, seditious and treacherous. They also reveal them as magical. The two pre-occupations may be compared roughly, but not exactly, in terms of chronology, to two stages in the attitude of Elizabeth and her governments to the Catholic problem. We see at the beginning of the queen's reign careful avoidance of any militant action against Catholics because of the dangers of a Catholic alliance among the princes of Europe against England. Elton comments on the studied moderation of the early years of the reign in an attempt to win over the

---

1. See Don Cameron Allen, "Arthur's Diamond Shield", JEGP, 36 (1937), pp.234-243, for the virtue of the diamond against poisons and the illusions of magic.

English Catholics.[1] Early anti-Catholic moves were connected with changes in the externals of religion. In Christmas 1558 Bishop Oglethorpe was forbidden to elevate the Host at the Mass Elizabeth attended.[2] In May 1559 the English service began in the queen's chapel.[3] The Gospel may have been restored in England, but the queen was not about to start a Protestant Crusade. In the late 1560s the Catholic threat to England grew. 1569 saw the Rebellion of the Northern Earls with the dramatic incident of the rebels entering Durham Cathedral, tearing up the Prayer Book, setting up the old altar and having Mass said. In 1570 the bull Regnans in Excelsis reached England. It excommunicated Elizabeth and relieved her Catholic subjects of their allegiance. Elton says that the bull ended a period of temporising,

> from it dates the instinctive English reaction which equates popery with subtle and poisonous treason.
>
> England under the Tudors, p.305

In 1575 the priests from Douai landed. In 1580 the Jesuit mission of Campion and Parsons began. In 1583 there was the Throckmorton Plot and in 1584 that of Dr Parry. In 1586-1587 there was the Babington Plot and 1588 was Armada Year. An entertainment given to Elizabeth at Tilbury after the defeat of the Armada and entitled Elizabetha Triumphans shows something of the association made between popery and conspiracy. The subtitle reads,

> Conteyning the damned practizes, that the divelish Popes of ROME have used even sithence her HIGHNESSE first comming to the Crowne, by moving her wicked and traiterous subjects to Rebellion and Conspiracies, ...
>
> Elizabetha Triumphans (Nichols, Vol.I, p.545)

The pope's father is Satan.[5] The missionaries are seen as magicians,

> This Pope doth send Magitians to her land
> To seeke her death, by that their devilish arte:
>
> ibid., p.555

As Spenser's story unfolds in The Faerie Queene, we find the witch Duessa accused of conspiracies against Mercilla.[6]

1. Elton, England under the Tudors, p.288
2. ibid., p.270.
3. Nichols, Progresses, Vol.I, p.67.
4. Neale, Queen Elizabeth I, p.190.
5. FQ, V.ix.

Shakespeare's I Henry VI shows the troubles of England in what Edward Hall, Shakespeare's main source for the play, calls the "troubelous season of kynge Henry the .vi." The troubles of the reign consist of dissention at home, and disasters in France caused by the witch Joan of Arc. I suggest that Roman Catholicism provides a link between these two threats to English peace and prosperity. It was a common accusation of Catholics by Protestants that they fomented sedition and rebellion in sovereign states.[1] Bernard Garter may be taken as the spokesman of Elizabethan feelings about Catholic sedition.

> And what else commeth of this Papisticall Religion, but murmuring, contention, strife, sedition, rumors, lewd practises, and privie conspiracies, to put discord amongst them that live in peace, and lastly open Rebellion, if they were able to bring it to passe?
>
> A Newyeares Gifte, Preface to the Reader, iiiv

In view of the connexion I propose between the troubles of England and Catholic witchcraft, Garter's next comment is significant.

> For want of which habilitie, they now use Prophecies, Conjuration, Nicromancie, Piromancie, and Calculation, wherto they attribute great credite. They seeke out Witches and Sorcerers wheresoever they may be found throughout Christendome.
>
> ibid., Preface to the Reader, iiiv

Popish priests and prelates were the causes of dissention in England's history, notably Thomas à Becket and Cardinals Pandulph and Wolsey.[2] The struggle between English secular authority and the claims of Rome was another favourite hobby-horse of the Elizabethans.

In I Henry VI the Bishop (later Cardinal) of Winchester exemplifies a proud and ambitious prelate as a cause of troubles in the kingdom.[3]

---

1. The accusation is too common to need detailed documentation. See Carol Z. Wiener, "The Beleaguered Isle. A study of Elizabethan and early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism", Past and Present, 51 (May 1971), pp.27-62.
2. Lily B. Campbell, Shakespeare's Histories, sees events in King John as parallels with the Catholic threat in the reign of Elizabeth. Shakespeare's Histories, pp.126-167.
3. Another Bishop of Winchester was the persecutor of Elizabeth in the reign of Mary Tudor. See Foxe's "The myraculous preservation of Lady Elizabeth", Acts and Monuments (edition of 1576), pp.1982-1988. The Cardinal of Winchester appears as Elizabeth's persecutor in Heywood's If You Know Not Me. Heywood drew on Foxe's account.

He is characterised as more haughty than the devil,[1] an arrogant and haughty prelate,[2] a presumptious priest.[3] Henry V prophesied that Beaufort would try to make himself equal with the crown.[4] In this context the struggle between Gloucester and Winchester can be seen as a struggle between secular and national authority (Gloucester is Lord Protector for part of the play), and ecclesiastical authority, which occasionally makes appeals to Rome. An important scene in this struggle is I.iii. Gloucester gibes at the Cardinal's scarlet robes.[5] The Arden editor suspects an allusion to the Babylonian Whore of the Roman Church here.[6] The detail of Gloucester's threat to stamp on the Cardinal's hat may be related iconographically to the struggle between the State and the Papacy in illustrations in Foxe. In one of these Alexander III (ecclesiastical authority) puts his foot on the head of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.[7] In another, Henry VIII of England reverses the process by treading on the neck of Pope Clement, from whose head the Papal tiara has tumbled.[8] Winchester's appeals to the final authority of Rome[9] would have touched a sore spot for Englishmen. The conflict is brought out most dramatically in an interchange between Gloucester and Winchester in III.i.

---

1. I.Henry VI, I.iii.84.
2. ibid., I.iii.23.
3. ibid., III.i.8.
4. ibid., V.i.31-33.
5. ibid., I.iii.42.
6. Further to this point, commentators on Revelation XVII.iii were fond of relating the scarlet robes of the Great Whore to the red robes of the pope and his cardinals. Gifford makes this point. Sermons, p.325. Gifford found this interpretation in the course of his translation of William Fulke's Praelections. The interpretation may be found f.110v.
7. Actes and Monuments (1576), p.207.
8. ibid., p.1028.
9. I Henry VI, I.iii.52, III.i.51.

> Glo. Am I not Protector, saucy priest?
> Win. And am I not a prelate of the church?
> III.i.45-46

Towards the end of the play Winchester in a soliloquy disdains to be inferior to the proudest peer. He determines to make Gloucester submit, or failing that to raise a mutiny.[1]

There are insinuations at the beginning of the play that churchmen prayed for the death of Henry V and Gloucester claims that Winchester only goes to church to pray for the death of his enemies.[2] In the light of the Protestant identification of Catholic prayers as spells, the malevolent prayers of churchmen are interestingly preceded by and juxtaposed to the suggestion that the French used "magic verses" to bring about the end of Henry V.[3]

The English troubles abroad are caused by a French witch. The fact that she is a witch is immediately recognised by the English.

> Talbot. Devil or devil's dam, I'll conjure thee;
> Blood will I draw on thee - thou art a witch -
> I.v.5-6

English characters constantly refer to her in the terms of witchcraft.[4] In fact the play exhibits the implication that the realm of France is aided by the powers of hell. In the lines already referred to, accusing the French of using magic against Henry V,

> Or shall we think the subtle-witted French
> Conjurers and sorcerers, that afraid of him,
> By magic verses have contriv'd his end?
> I.i.25-27

the relationship of "subtle-witted French" to "Conjurers and sorcerers" is ambiguous. One meaning possible is that the second phrase is in apposition to the first, implying that the French as a nation are

---

1. I Henry VI, V.i.56-62.
2. ibid., I.i.41-43.
3. ibid., I.i.25-27.
4. ibid., I.v.21, III.ii.52 etc.

magicians. Bedford accuses the Dauphin,

> Coward of France, how much he wrongs his fame,
> Despairing of his own arms fortitude,
> To join with witches and the help of Hell!
> II.i.16-18

Talbot's comment a few lines later portrays the relationship of Frenchmen and Joan as that of a witch and her familiars,

> Well, let them practise and converse with spirits:
> II.i.25[1]

The play's description of Joan and her characteristics may be closely related to English suspicions, pre-occupations and fears about Catholicism. First there are Joan's voices, visions and prophecies, subjects that were regarded with distrust by Protestant Elizabethans who thought of them as subversive. Thomas comments that

> in the reign of Elizabeth there were many attempts to exploit the revelations of hysterical women to make propaganda on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots or for the return of the Mass.
> p.131

In the second passage from Garter's Newyeares Gifte quoted above, prophecies are included among the weapons of the papist religion.[2] The title of the book from which Shakespeare took some details for the depiction of Joan is A Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies. The statue 5 Elizabeth 15 was passed against those using prophecies to foment rebellion. A girl claiming divine authority and instructing a king in secular matters might remind Elizabethans of the Holy Maid of Kent in the reign of Henry VIII. Elizabeth Barton told of Heaven and Hell and exhorted people on points confirming the "Popishe Creede, and Catechisme".[3] She had visions of S.Michael, S.Peter and especially of the Virgin. However she made the mistake of meddling with

---

1. In addition to these magical references, the Arden editor notes the possible reference to image-magic in the lines of the Countess of Auvegne to Talbot prefatory to an attempt to capture him. II.iii.36-37.
2. See also Meredith Hanmer, The Great Bragge and Challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite (1581), Cv. Catholic orders are locusts "having their oryginall successe and confirmation, by southsaying, conjuring, dreames, visions, fantasies lies, illusions and fayned Myracles:"
3. Newyeares Gifte, I2.

affairs of state,

> ... the holy Mayden (not contenting hir selfe within hir former boundes of hipocrisie) stepped into matters whyche touched the Kings Majestie Henry the eyght of immortall memorie, and the state of the Realme, so deepely and so perversely, as tended to the overthrow of all togyther, as commonly the Popes practises doe: ...
> Newyeares Gifte, 13v

Garter assumes that the devil is the master of such dreamers.[1] Protestants were suspicious of Catholic dreamers and claimed that the dreams were diabolically inspired. Joan is vehement against this attitude. She claims herself

> ... chosen from above,
> By inspiration of celestial grace,
> To work exceeding miracles on earth.
> ...
> But you, ...
> Because you want the grace that others have,
> You judge it straight a thing impossible
> To compass wonders but by help of devils.
> I Henry VI, V.iv.39-48

The audience by this time has seen Joan revealed as a witch.

Joan's visions are strikingly papist in that they are especially of the Virgin.[2] Charles has a speech on Joan's prophetic powers that is riddled with ambiguities.

> Was Mahomet inspired with a dove?
> Thou with an eagle art inspired then.
> Helen, the mother of great Constantine,
> Nor yet Saint Philip's daughters were like thee.
> Bright star of Venus, fall'n down on the earth,
> How may I reverently worship thee enough?
> I.ii.140-145[3]

Only the daughters of S.Philip are blameless. Mahomet is a false prophet.[4] The story of S.Helen's invention of the Cross would be regarded as a popish fable by Protestants shuddering at the thought of false papist relics. Lines 143-145 contain reworkings of two Biblical

---

1. Newyeares Gifte, K2.
2. I Henry VI, I.ii.74-86.
3. C.G. Harlow, "The Authorship of I Henry VI", Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 5 (1965), pp.269-281, notes the borrowing of details for these lines from Howard's Defensative, sig. L14v.
4. Harlow notes that Mahomet "the glosing sicophant" occurs in the Defensative, C3v.

references to Satan. The phrase "Bright star of Venus" plays with the idea of Lucifer, the morning star. Thus the line may be seen as an allusion to the fall of Satan,

> Howe art thou fallen from heaven O Lucifer,
> thou fayre morning chylde?
> Bishops' Bible, Isaiah XIV.xii

Line 145 brings to mind Satan's offer to Christ during the Temptation of all the kingdoms of the world,

> And sayth unto hym, All these wyll I geve thee,
> yf thou wylt fal downe and worship me.
> Bishops' Bible, Matthew IV.ix

Nothing could point more clearly to the diabolic nature of prophecies. Joan's seduction of Burgundy from his allegiance to the English crown may echo Protestant fears of the subtlety and eloquence of the Jesuit mission to England.[1] It was believed that Babington, for example, had been "bewitched with the inticements of these Jesuits".[2] Charles encourages Joan, "Speak, Pucelle, and enchant him with thy words".[3] Burgundy confesses, "Either she hath bewitch'd me with her words, ..."[4]

After the rescue of Orléans, Charles promises Joan what are really the honours of a Catholic saint.[5]

> And all the priests and friars in my realm
> Shall in procession sing her endless praise.
> ...
> Her ashes, in an urn more precious
> Than the rich jewell'd coffer of Darius,
> Transported shall be at high festivals
> Before the kings and queens of France.
> No longer on Saint Denis will we cry,
> But Joan la Pucelle shall be France's saint.
> I.vi.19-29

In spite of there being a source for the detail of the jewel-casket,[6] the object here is really a reliquary[7]

---

1. See Carol Wiener, "The Beleagured Isle", pp.42-45.
2. ibid., p.44.
3. I Henry VI, III.iii.40.
4. ibid., III.iii.58.
5. In the fifteenth century Pope Calixtus III revoked and annulled the sentence of 1431 against Joan.
6. Harlow, "The Authorship of I Henry VI", pp.270-272.
7. For a long diatribe against papists honouring relics, see Munday, The English Romayne Lyfe (1582), pp.30-40.

which will be borne after a procession of chanting priests. The reliquary will contain the ashes of a witch.

In V.iii Joan is revealed in her true colours as a witch who entertains familiars. The Arden editor in a note to V.iii.2, "Now help, ye charming spells and periapts", refers to the Discoverie, XII.ix, where the word "periapts" (which occurs only once in Shakespeare) may be found in the chapter heading. The Arden editor does not mention that the full phrase beginning the heading is "Popish periapts, amulets and charmes, ..." or that XII.ix is one of the sections of Scot that compares popish practices and charms. Scot also mentions the "monarch of the north" (XV.iii) who makes an appearance in I Henry VI, V.iii.6.[1]

Dekker's Whore of Babylon was written, or had a final revision, at a time when fears of Catholic sedition and treason had been revived and exacerbated by the Gunpowder Plot. Allusions to the apprehension of Garnet and Oldcorne in the play (III.i.149-160) have

---

1. There is also a possibility that Shakespeare may have found this phrase in Greene's Friar Bacon. Hercules and Bacon refer to a spirit ruling the north,

"Bacon, that bridles headstrong Belcephon,
And rules Asmenoth, guider of the north"
Friar Bacon, ix.141-142

" ... proud Astmeroth, ruler of the north"
ibid., xi.106

This possibility is strengthened by the fact that Pucelle refers to familiar spirits as coming from the powerful regions under the earth (I Henry VI, V.iii.10-11). I have found no support for the idea of familiar spirits living under the earth in the writings of demonologists, except for the general idea that all demons come from hell. However in the same scene in Friar Bacon which contains the first reference to a spirit guiding the north, we learn from Vandermast of geomantic spirits inhabiting the centre of the earth, and that

" ... such gross and earthly spirits do serve
For jugglers, witches and vild sorcerers;"
Friar Bacon, ix.68-69

For Joan's description of the powerful regions under the earth, cf. Bungay's claim that geomantic spirits can dissever mountains "Being more gross and massy in their power". Friar Bacon, ix.55.

been noted by D.B. Dodson.[1] An even more obvious allusion to the Plot, which I have not found noticed, may be found in a speech by the Third King, who speaks of the trouble he will cause in England.

> Ile be a Saint, a Furie, Angell, Devill,
> Or'e Seas, on this side Seas; Devils forreners,
> With Devils within hel freedome, Devils in Vaults,
> And with Church Devil, be it your soules health,
> To drinke downe Babylonian Stratagems,
> And to forge three-forkt thunderbolts at home,
> Whilst I melt Sulpnure here: ...
> Whore of Babylon (Works, ed. Bowers, Vol.II), 1.ii.274-280

The reference to devils in vaults and sulphur must be to the conspiracy.[2] The play reflects nostalgically on the reign of Elizabeth, which is seen at once as menaced by the Catholic threat, assured of Divine Protection, and the Golden Age of Protestant resistance to Rome. This mood may also be seen in Thomas Heywood's If You Know Not Me plays which were performed 1603-1605. England believed itself miraculously preserved from Fawkes and the conspirators,[3] and the play presents the miraculous preservations of Elizabeth, who is threatened by a series of conspiracies, all ultimately set in motion by the Church of Rome. The work plays on the stock fears of and accusations against Catholics. It uses Protestant interpretation of the Apocalypse which we have seen identifying the Great Whore and her Beast as symbols of the Roman Church.[4]

---

1. "Allusions to the Gunpowder Plot in Dekker's Whore of Babylon", NQ, July-August 1959, p.257.
2. Cf. Francis Herring, Pietas Pontificia (1606). Knevet finds Fawkes, "Primus hic offendit Falsum, Cacodaemona Cellae". Pietas Pontificia, B3v. In the 1610 translation by A.P. this line becomes "First False he finds, the divell of the vault". Popish Pietie, stanza 82, sig.C2v.
3. This is in the Foxe tradition mentioned above. In Pietas Pontificia we find divine intervention and dream-warnings, B2-B2v.
4. Dekker probably used these ideas as he found them in The Faerie Queene, from which he took the names "Satyran" and "Paridell". Padelford suggests a close relationship between the play and The Faerie Queene. Variorum FQ, I. pp.479-482.

The play presents an Elizabethan view of Jesuits sent to cause dissention, and Catholic traitors absolved, blessed and even promised canonization. The language of the play is saturated with the imagery of anti-Catholic propaganda. Catholics are wolves, foxes[1] and spiders.[2] Campion is a night-loving owl,[3] Lopez a toad.

Through the various conspiracies against Elizabeth, and indeed the general statement of The Whore of Babylon of the opposition between the Whore and Titania, runs the idea that the Whore uses magic as part of her campaign. Among unconnected references the following may be noted. The three kings are repulsed and Florimel announces their departure,

> These evill Spirits are vext, and they are vanisht
> Like hideous dreames, ...
> II.i.1-2

First Cardinal describes Satyran's ships (i.e. the Armada),

> Huge Galeasses, and such wodden Castles,
> As by enchantment on the waters move:
> III.i.252-253

Time describes Babylon as a sorceress who keeps enchanted towers.[4] Ropus (Lopez) is arrested and Fidele finds incriminating papers containing the names of various Portuguese implicated in the conspiracy,

> Here 'tis in blacke and white - thy life,
> Sirra thou Urinall, Tynoco, Gama
> Andrada, and Ibarra, names of Divels,
> Or names to fetch up Divels: ...
> IV.ii.115-118

That is, the conspirators are devils, or Ropus a conjurer using names of power to control them. I also suspect an allusion to a witch's familiar a few lines before. In an outburst containing passing references to

1. The fox was noted above as a symbol for recusants in connexion with Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar. Dekker gives a Jesuit a fox's head in The Double PP, A3.
2. Cf. Thomas Cooper, A Brand taken out of the Fire. Or the Romish Spider, with his Webbe of Treason (1606).
3. Cf. the description of a "Papist Umbreant", Double PP, D2.
   > "A Papist Umbreant (like a Skreech-owle) sits
   > All day unseen: but when the sorcerous night
   > Spreds her deepe Spells, hel conjures up his wits,
   > Giving his soule to Treason: hee's a Sprite
   > That deales in Fire-workes: Vaults are his delight,
   > Where for his close Traynes hell does him prefer
   > To be Arch-Enginist to Lucifer."
4. Whore of Babylon, IV.i.59-60.

poisoning and devils, two adjuncts to witchcraft, Fidele berates Ropus for attempting to poison the queen.

> If't be his brewing, touch it not -
> For 'tis a drench to kill the strongest Devill,
> That's Druncke all day with brimstone: come sucke, Weezell,
> Sucke your own teat, ...
> IV.ii.108-111

Witches were often described as feeding their familiars with secret teats.[1] The witch-familiar relationship is referred to by Titania when she questions another would-be murderer, Paridel (Dr Parry). He is described as a witch harbouring familiars (dissentious Catholics).

> Hear us,
> Because tis thought some of the worser spirits,
> And most malignant that at midnight rise
> To blast our Faiery circles by the Moone,
> Are your familiars. ...
> Thee therefore I conjure ...
> V.ii.60-65

These isolated references give some idea of the play's identification of Catholic activities against the state as wicked magic. An examination of the more extended references to magic in the play reveals, as it were, a microcosm of Protestant suspicions of Catholicism as magic. The days of popery as times of ignorance nourishing magic, sacramentals as charms, and conspiracy and dissention as witchcraft are all ideas represented in Dekker's play.

The dumb-show at the beginning of the play represents the restoration of the Gospel to England. As Marie Thérèse Jones-Davies noted,[2] it echoes the pageants welcoming Elizabeth in 1558 examined briefly at the beginning of this chapter. Time and Truth, the guardians of Elizabeth and the restorers of the Gospel, unveil the eyes of the blinded counsellors.[3] Titania receives the Gospel and kisses it[4] and the Marian

---

1. Gifford mentions the popular opinion that weasels were commonly the shape taken by familiars, Discourse, G3v; Dialogue, B4v.
2. Un peintre de la vie londinienne. Thomas Dekker (2 vols. Paris, 1958), Vol. II, pp.189-190.
3. Whore of Babylon, Dumb-show, 38-39.
4. ibid., Dumb-show, 44.

exiles return.[1] The restorers of the Gospel drive out the Catholic clergy and their images and croziers. The theme of the restoration of the Gospel appears again in the play. The Empress is worried by Titania.

> Five Summers have scarce drawn their glimmering nights
> Through the Moons silver bowe, since the crownd heads
> Of that adored beast on which we ride,
> Were strucke and wounded, but so heal'd againe,
> The very scarres were hid. But now, a mortall,
> An unrecoverable blow is taken,
> And it must bleed to death.
> I.i.47-53

Dekker is alluding here to the verse in Revelation which describes the wounding of the Beast.[2] The first wound was the planting of the Gospel under Edward VI, the healing of the wound was Mary's returning the country to the allegiance of Rome, and the final blow is Elizabeth's restitution of the Gospel. The Whore claims that Truth (the restorer of the Gospel) is an impostor and a witch.

> Sh'as writ a booke,
> Which she calles holy Spels.
> ... from the Fairie shores this Witch hath driven
> All such as are like these (our Sooth-Saiers)
> And cal'd false Seers home, that of things past,
> Sing wonders, and divine of things to come:
> I.i.68-74

Dekker uses the idea of the holy spells of the Gospel in Double PP in his picture of the bishop.

> The Holy-spells by Him to subjects spread,
> Fasten the Kings Crowne closer to his head.
> The Double PP, E2

A marginal note points out the relationship of "Gospell" to "Gods-spell". The expulsion of the sooth-sayers may be referred to the idea that false prophecies ceased in England at the restoration of the Gospel. One final small detail, also in the same scene, identifies the Catholic religion as pagan, and its saints as heathen gods.

---

1. Whore of Babylon, Dumb-show, 49-50.
2. Revelation XIII.iii. "Sixteenth-century Protestants interpreted Antichrist as the Pope of Rome and the wounded head of the Beast from the Sea as the effect of the Protestant Reformation". J.E. Hankins, Sources and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory, p.105.

First Cardinal complains that the Reformers

> ... hunted us like wolves,
> Out of their Fairie forrests, whipt us away
> (As vagabonds) mockt us, and said our fall
> Could not be dangerous, because we bore
> Our gods upon our backes:
> I.i.174-178

The last two lines allude to the fall of Troy and Aeneas and Anchises carrying away the penates.[1] Scot compares popish saints and pagan gods in the Discourse of Divels and Spirits appended to the Discoverie.[2]

Act I.i shows an inversion of the situation after the Reformation in which the Protestants accused Catholics of magical practices. True to one of the themes of the play, the dissimulation and falsehood of the Catholic Church,[3] it is the Empress who accuses Titania of harbouring magic, and Truth of being a witch. Truth is described by the Empress as a strumpet and enchantress,[4] and accused of practising sorcery.[5] It is in this scene that the Catholic attempt on Fairyland begins. The Empress gives instructions to the three kings to go and woo Titania. Part of these instructions reveal the diabolic nature of the enterprise.

> Draw all your faces sweetly, let your browes
> Be sleekd, your cheekes in dimples, give out smiles,
> Your voyces string with silver, wooe (like lovers)
> Sweare you have hils of pearle: shew her the world,
> And say shee shall have all, so shee will kneele
> And doe us reverence: but if shee grow nice,
> Dissemble flatter, stoope to licke the dust
> Shee goes upon, and (like to serpents) creepe
> Upon your bellies, in humilitie;
> I.i.102-110

The Whore sends her emissaries on a mission that is compared to the temptation of Christ. Dekker is alluding to Matthew IV.ix, as it was suggested that

1. Aeneid, III.11-12, 147ff.
2. Discourse of Divels, pp.526-529.
3. In the dumb-show beginning IV.i, Falsehood is attired as Truth. This is probably influenced by the disguisings of Duessa in The Faerie Queene.
4. Whore of Babylon, I.i.56.
5. ibid., I.i.61.

Shakespeare was in I Henry VI, I.ii.145. If this method fails, the kings are to flatter, and the language again reveals them as devils, for it alludes to God's curse on the Serpent after the Temptation in Eden.

> And the Lorde God sayd unto the serpent, Because thou nast done this, thou art cursed above all cattell and above everye beast of the fielde: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eate all the dayes of thy lyfe.
> Bishops Bible, Genesis,III.xiv.

The second Catholic force sent against Titania is a group of priests (i.e. the Jesuit mission to England). They go armed with magic charms which are the sacramentals the priests brought with them.

> 1.Card. Stay: ere you shift Ayre,
> Sprinkle your selves all ore with sacred droppes,
> Take Periapts, Pentacles, and potent Charmes
> To conjure downe fowle feinds, that will be rayzed
> To vex you, tempt you, and betray your bloud,
> About your necks hang hallowed Amulets,
> That may Conserve you from the plagues of Error
> Which will strike at you.
> I.i.222-229

The priests come to England armed with sacramentals which the play identifies as magical charms.

The final magical move the seditious Catholics make against Titania in the play records a specific historical incident. In II.ii the implications of the language in the earlier scenes become a visible reality on the stage as a conjurer conspires against Titania with a wax-image. The Third King (Rome), who has initiated the conspiracy, listens to the wizard's explanation of the technique.

> Con. This virgin waxe,
> Burie I will in slimie putred ground,
> Where it may peece-meale rot: As this consumes,
> So shall shee pine, and (after languor) die.
> These pinnes shall sticke like daggers to her heart,
> And eating through her breast, turne there to gripings,
> Cramp-like Convulsions, shrinking up her nerves,
> As into this they eate.
> II.ii.168-175

By piecing together several pieces of information available, it is possible to identify this incident

as one which occurred in 1578.[1] Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, wrote home in a letter dated 8 September 1578 with news of a recent event. Three wax-images had been discovered in a stable and the central figure had "Elizabeth" inscribed on the forehead. They were transfixed with hogs' bristles.[2] Mendoza tells of great enquiries on foot and these may be traced in letters from the Privy Council dated 20 August, 4 September and 18 September.[3] The Privy Council were still worried about the incident in a letter of the following January when they wrote to Sir Henry Neville and the Dean of Windsor to find out whether the witches recently apprehended at Windsor knew anything of the incident.[4] From Scot[5] we glean the information that the three images were found in a dung-hill "to the terror and astonishment of manie thousands", which indicates the stir the incident made. Scot comes near to giving an assessment of the place of the incident in the play in his comments.

> But if the Lord preserve those persons (whose destruction was doubted to have beene intended therby) from all other the lewd practises and attempts of their enemies; I feare not, but they shall easilie withstand these and such like devises, although they should indeed be practised against them.
>
> Discoverie, XVI.iii, p.474

From Bodin, who also reports the incident, we learn the all-important fact that the conjurer was a priest, "Prebstre Sorcier d'Angleterre".[6]

> Et de plus fraiche memoire au mois de Septembre dernier, mil cinq cens septante huit, l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre & plusieurs François donnerent advis en France, qu'on avoit trouvé trois images de cire, ou le nom de la Royne d'Angleterre & d'autres estoyent escrits, dedans un fumier, & disoit on que le Curé d'un village qui s'appele Islinkton a demy lieüe de Londres, les avoit faites.
>
> *Démonomanie*, II.viii, ff.116v-117

True to the papacy's policy of pardoning and even

---

1. I am indebted to Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England, pp.87-88 for references.
2. Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English affairs, 1568-1569, p.611.
3. Acts of the Privy Council, new series, X, pp.309,322,326.
4. ibid., XI. p.22.
5. Discoverie, XVI.iii.
6. *Démonomanie*, sig. é4v.

beatifying traitors, Third King promises the conjurer what amounts to canonization.

> Thou art fam'd for ever,
> If these thy holy labours well succeed,
> Statues of molten brasse shall reare thy name,
> The Babylonian Empresse shall do thee honour.
> II.ii.175-178

Dekker multiplies the irony of "holy labours" in a later line by describing as "unhallowed" any hands that would hinder the spell by removing the image from the dung-hill.[1] The labours of the conjurer are obviously unholy in a general sense and this provides one layer of the irony. Another is provided by the fact that the wizard is a priest who ought to be performing holy labours, but is instead practising the black arts. "Unhallowed" as a description of the hands interfering with the magic plays on both these ideas. A third level may be intended, referring to the fact that a Catholic priest's hands were actually consecrated with holy oil at his ordination.[2] Fortunately, or rather through Divine Providence, Time and Truth apprehend the villain.

Another work produced in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot is Robert Pricket's The Jesuits Miracles (1607). This again reveals the interconnections between Catholic magic and treachery. By the time that the poem was published rumours of two miracles were already circulating about Father Garnet. One was that "a wondrous grasse" a foot long sprang from the imprint of Garnet's foot in the place where he was apprehended.[3] The other was that Garnet's face was seen in a straw which had been stained with blood at his execution.[4] The poem sets out to discredit the rumours of such miracles and does so by an attack on Catholic priests as traitors, and an accusation that Catholic miracles are counterfeits, lying wonders or false magical illusions. Miracles are ceased, therefore any real effects produced in connexion with the Jesuits are devilish.

---

1. Whore of Babylon, II.ii.182.
2. Harsnet enjoyed himself hugely with ridiculing the supernatural efficacy of the hands of a Catholic priest. Egregious Popish Impostures, pp.71-74.
3. Jesuits Miracles, B. On the miraculous straw see Philip Caraman, Henry Garnet 1555-1606 (1964), Appendix D, pp.443-447.
4. Jesuits Miracles, Bv-B2.

But now that miracles are fully seast,
  Shall such be wrought as Christ himselfe exceeds:
Let Rome alone such lothsome stuffe digest.
  Whose poysoned maw upon damnation feeds,
    Negromancie, witchcraft, inchauntments, sorcerie,
    Adores proud Romes most dam'd hypocresie.
          Jesuits Miracles, C

The poem uses many of the same themes that were noted in The Whore of Babylon, two being the reverence given to traitors at Rome,[1] and the wonderful preservation of Eliza.[2] In the course of establishing the treacherous and seditious nature of Catholic priests, the poem stigmatizes as devilish a religion that stands by false miracles. Shall such false miracles cause wrong belief so that we run from God to witches (i.e. Catholics)?[3] The poet includes in his attack the stock accusations of Catholic sorcery and papal conjuring.

Popes two and twentie vild ones at the least,
  Have us'd abnorred nigromanticke spels,
By which is plaine the most accursed beast.
  Even in the throne of truthlesse Popedome dwels,
    For Antichrist he must by Sathans skill,
    The world with monstrous lying wonders fill.

With fierie signes and conjuring wonders great,
  Popes often have amazed minds dismayed,
Mens soules have their most wicked Papall seate.
  With seeming holy[4](but hellish) power betrayed,
    Pope Hell brand he, the People made beleeve,
    That burning fire came sparkling forth his sleeve.

Such Popes indeed might with strange fire deale
  Whose soules were sould to ever flaming hell,
Themselves did from themselves salvation steale.
  Chosing with Divels in endles flames to dwell,
    Love not wonders that are by Sathan wrought,
    So Popes themselves and frindes to hell have brought.
          Jesuits Miracles, D-Dv

---

1. Jesuits Miracles, C-C4v.
2. ibid., E2-E2v.
3. ibid., B4v.
4. This playing on the personal name of the pope-magician Gregory VII (Hildebrand) is a favourite joke with anti-Catholic writers.

A play capitalizing on anti-Catholic feeling generated by the Gunpowder Plot, although not insistent on the theme of Catholic conspiracy is Barnabe Barnes' The Devil's Charter. Since it was performed before King James on 2 February 1607, it seems likely that the play cashed in on the anti-Catholic feeling of the time. In political terms it represents the papacy as an ambitious institution striving for the domination of Italy. Morally Alexander is presented as a sink of iniquity. He is ambitious, Machiavellian, treacherous, incestuous, sodomitical and a diabolist. There are references in the play of the stock character familiar from the foregoing discussion of anti-Catholic literature. These include references to the Whore of Babylon with her cup of abominations,[1] the pope as Antichrist,[2] and the papal practice of pardoning the most abominable crimes.[3]

McKerrow found three versions of the story of the pact with the devil, but considered none of them satisfactory as sources.[4] To McKerrow's list may be added the short version of the story in The Examination of John Walsh (1566), sig. A2-A3. In addition Alexander is mentioned as a magician-pope by Danaeus,[5] Bale,[6] and Holland.[7] Some indication of the compilation by Protestants of lists of papal conjurers has been given at the beginning of this chapter.

The dumb-show opening the play shows Alexander summoning up a devil and making a pact with it in order to gain the papal throne.[8] The devil gives Alexander the papal tiara and keys. The application is both individual and general. That is, Alexander obtained

1. Devil's Charter (ed. McKerrow), Prologue 7-8.
2. ibid., II.i.1028.
3. ibid., IV.v.2442-2446.
4. ibid., Introduction, pp.viii-xi.
5. Dialogue, H5-H5v.
6. Pageant of the Popes, ff.171 [misfoliated as "f.170"]-173.
7. Treatise, B.
8. The detail of the devil ascending in pontificals, repeated when Astaroth sits in pontificals confronting Alexander (V.v.3068-3069), may be compared with a woodcut with a trick-fold in the British Museum. This shows Alexander in pontificals, but when the fold is opened the woodcut is of the devil in papal vestments. The woodcut is reproduced in Robert Hughes, Heaven and Hell in Western Art (1968), p.231.

the papacy through conjuring and popes in general hold S.Peter's chair from the devil.

The interesting feature of this play is that Barnes makes Alexander an Agrippan ceremonialist. It has been shown in the section on sources that the playwright borrowed from a volume containing Agrippa's De Occulta Philosophia, the pseudo-Agrippan Liber Quartus and the Heptameron of Peter of Abano. Alexander practises the sacerdotal magic described in these works and it has been demonstrated how the similarity of sacerdotal and magical practices of the ceremonial kind made comparisons of them a useful weapon against Catholicism. I suggest that in attributing to Alexander the sacerdotal magical rituals of Agrippa and Abano, Barnes parallels the presumption of the papacy in the presumptions of this type of magic. An exchange in II.i between Lodowick Sforza, Alexander and Ascanio is important in this context. The scene shows the temporary challenge of the French to Alexander, and the latter's attempt to impose the authority of the papacy on a rebellious monarch.

> Lodo. A Pope by nature full of fraud, and pride;
> Ambitious avaricious, shameles, divilish,
> And that and which your experience testifies
> One that with mortall malice hates the French:
> By whome this reconciliation made
> Was more in feare, and hard necessity
> Then faithfull inclination, or good will.
> Alex. Iscariot, reprobate apostata,
> I charge thee to desist and make submission
> With pennance to the Mother Church of Rome
> On paine of everlasting reprobation.
> Asca. Blasphemous exorcist, heere are no divills
> Which thou canst conjure, with thy divilish spirit.
> II.i.1038-1050

This passage may be taking literally Ascanio's allusion to exorcism, and can be illuminated by reference to Catholic techniques of exorcism. The application of insulting epithets to devils in Catholic exorcisms has been noted with reference to Shakespeare's reading of works dealing with demonic possession. Harsnet's quotation of Mengus from the Fustis Daemonum, "Audi igitur insensate, ...", was cited in passing. I believe that

Barnes is here referring to this technique of Catholic exorcism. Alexander's lines in this extract may be compared with Harsnet's quotations from Mengus and his comments on them. The line "Iscariot, reprobate apostata" echoes Harsnet's quotation of Mengus, "Audi igitur insensate, false, reprob[illegible] : ...".[1] Harsnet in the same chapter refers to "an olde Mother Church" and twice to our "holy Mother-Church".[2] Harsnet also mentions the fact that Catholic exorcists claim to the power to consign the devils to torments in hell. He comments on

> the bottomlesse power, that every Exorcist hath, (every one having (as seemes) a privie key to the bottomlesse burning pit, to let out, & in, according to theyr liking) to multiply the torments of helfire upon any devil, unto immensity of weight, and infinity in perduration: ...
> Egregious Popish Impostures, p.116

It is further possible that Barnes may have taken the trouble to look up the original exorcism in the Fustis Daemonum, to which Harsnet gives a detailed reference in the text and in the margin. Here he would have found that what looks like a verbatim quotation in Harsnet is in fact a compilation of excerpts. Among the abusive terms in Mengus that may have suggested Barnes' lines are "Proditor gentium" which would have suggested Judas Iscariot,[3] and "Vilissime apostata" which would have suggested Barnes' "apostata".[4] Thus Ascanio compares Alexander's threats to rebellious sons of the Church to an exorcist's adjuration of devils.

In the conjuring scene we see Alexander using the techniques of compelling spirits to obey him with names of power. In the last scene of the play the devil reveals to Alexander the emptiness of his magical pretensions, "Vaine are thy crosse, vaine all exorcismies".[5] Alexander attempts to use Agrippan arguments of the

1. Egregious Popish Impostures, p.112.
2. ibid., pp.113,114.
3. Mengus, Fustis Daemonum (Venice, 1579), p.243.
4. ibid., p.244.
5. Devil's Charter, V.vi.3072.

divine nature of man's soul to assert his superiority over the devil. The devil sweeps aside these arguments, reminds him that he has sinned shamefully and rejected God, and the pope is damned.

Examples of the association of Catholicism with magic in works characterised by anti-Catholic feeling are infrequent in the years in the period under discussion subsequent to The Devil's Charter. One may in fact discern an easing of attitudes on the various loci that have been observed as sore points of Protestant suspicions of Catholics. Examples to illustrate this contention may be taken from the two parts of Michael Drayton's Poly-Olbion. In the first part (1613) we find a benevolent Pope Gregory sending an emissary to convert England,

> Wise Augustine, the Monke, from holy Gregory sent.
> Drayton, Poly-Olbion (Works, ed. Hebel, Vol.IV), Song XI.199

In the same song is the story of how King Sebba persuaded his queen that they should cease to live together as man and wife. Sebba became a monk.[1] The narration of the story in Elizabeth's reign might well have been followed by an attack on the papists forbidding "clean marriage". A catalogue of the kings of England includes a description of King John laying sacrilegious hands on the Church.[2] Admittedly the annotations to this line muster up some of the old spirit and refer to the "pretended plenary power" of Pope Innocent III, but they also refer to the "disturbed affections" of John, and claim that you could not have found a prince more beneficial to the holy cause than John before the quarrel with Innocent.[3] In the second part of Poly-Olbion (1622) we meet the saints scattered along the banks of the River Welland. They have slept and the river is sorry that they have been neglected.[4] Drayton disclaims any miracles attributed to them, but refers ironically to the suspicions of puritans and precisians

1. Poly-Olbion, Song XI.229-236.
2. ibid., Song XVII.164.
3. ibid., pp.347-348.
4. ibid., Song XXIV.14,19-20.

of such matters. He then goes on to give a list of saints in the primitive British Church, mentioning the fact that they have left their "sacred Bones" here in Britain,[1] and more explicitly the fact that SS. Duvian and Fagan left their "sacred Reliques" here.[2] Drayton claims S.Helen, who discovered the True Cross, as a British saint.[3] Despite Drayton's disclaiming the attribution of miracles to the Welland's saints early in the poem, we find him attributing them to S.Ardwin later.[4] Although Drayton is usually guarded in his comments on such religious matters, the willingness to suspend judgement as he does in the case of Thomas à Becket, that priest notorious to the Elizabethans for meddling, is significant. I suggest that at the very least the absence of attacks on Catholicism in association with these topics is indicative of a cooler climate of literary opinion on the subject.[5]

In Dekker's Virgin Martyr, which was licensed 6 October 1620 and is interestingly a reworking of a saint's legend of the type in the Legenda Aurea, we even have an incident demonstrating the efficacy of a sacramental against a demon. In V.i Theophilus finds a cross of flowers at the bottom of a basket which the angel, Angelo, has brought from Dorothea in Paradise. Its effect on the demon Harpax is immediate.

> Harpax. Oh, I'me tortur'd.
> Theoph. Can this doo't? hence thou Fiend infernall hence.
> Virgin Martyr (Works, ed. Bowers, Vol.III), V.i.139-140

---

1. Poly-Olbion, Song XXIV.111.
2. ibid., Song XXIV.64.
3. ibid., Song XXIV.151.
4. ibid., Song XXIV.483-485.
5. Drayton's Poly-Olbion may, I think, be taken as a fair indicator. The first part was dedicated to Prince Henry and the second part to Prince Charles. Drayton had for his friends both devout Catholics and strong Protestants. Bernard Newdigate, Michael Drayton and his Circle (Oxford, 1961), p.217.

When the Pope in Faustus makes the sign of the cross, the reaction of the diabolist Faustus, accompanied by an unperturbed Mephostophilis, is to box the Pope soundly on the ears. It will be remembered that Dekker in The Whore of Babylon had portrayed Catholic sacramentals as charms.

Two historical reasons suggest themselves for the absence of anti-Catholic sentiment in the literature of the later years of the reign of King James. One is the pro-Spanish policy of James, culminating in the last years of the reign in the journey of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Madrid to negotiate a marriage for Charles with the Infanta. Spain had of course been seen in the reign of Elizabeth as the agent of papal ambition. The other is a change suggested by John Bossy in the nature of the Catholic mission to England.[1] Bossy sees a retreat by the English Catholic community from the political engagements of the reign of Elizabeth, and the Gunpowder Plot as "the last fling of the Elizabethan tradition of a politically engaged Catholicism".[2] He discerns a move within the Catholic community away from activism towards "the monastic, the contemplative and the quietistic".[3]

That popular anti-Catholic feeling was not a thing of the past is demonstrated by the great rejoicing at the return of Charles and Buckingham without the Infanta in 1624. In the atmosphere

---

1. "The English Catholic Community 1603-1625" in The Reign of James VI and I, ed. Alan G.R. Smith (1973), pp.91-105.
2. ibid., pp.92,95.
3. ibid., p.105.

of the expression of subsequent anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic emotions, Middleton wrote A Game at Chess, which opened at the Globe 6 August 1624. Its instant success and subsequent suppression by the government indicate that England had not forgotten the Armada, and that James was not prepared to tolerate public expressions of anti-Catholic and anti-Spanish sentiment. The Induction to the play shows Ignatius Loyola with Error asleep at his feet. This must be an inversion of the representations of the arrival of Elizabeth and the Gospel awakening Truth.[1] The magical incident in the play is the attempted seduction of the Protestant White Queen's Pawn by the Catholic Black Queen's Pawn. The Black Queen's Pawn shows the White Queen's Pawn an image of a future lover for her in a magic glass. The Black Queen's Pawn explains,

> A magical glass I bought of an Egyptian
> Whose stone retains that speculative virtue
> Presented the man to me. Your name brings him
> As often as I use it, ...
>
> Game at Chess, ed. J.W. Harper, III.i. 331-334

The reference to the Egyptian provenance of the glass is in the tradition of references to the Roman Church as Egyptian and magical.[2] The attempted seduction of the Protestant White Queen's Pawn can be seen as a revival of the tradition of the subtle and conjuring Jesuits.

In 1627 when Phineas Fletcher's Latin poem Locustae and its English translation, The Locusts or Apollyonists, appeared, James was dead and England was again at war with Spain. The locusts of the title are those described in the Apocalypse,

---

1. Cf. the Dumb-show beginning The Whore of Babylon.
2. The Jesuits are described as "Egyptian grasshoppers" in line 8 of the Induction.

and in the poem they have their traditional significance of Jesuits. The tone of this anti-Catholic poem may be gathered from part of its rather hysterical first stanza.

> Of Men, nay beasts: worse, Monsters: worst of all,
> Incarnate Fiends, English Italianat,
> Of Priests, O no, Masse-Priests, Priests-Cannibal, ...
> Giles and Phineas Fletcher, Poetical Works
> (2 vols. ed. F.S. Boas), Vol.I

The poem is a full-blown revival of anti-Catholicism of the type of The Faerie Queene, by which it was obviously influenced. Among references to the disgraceful actions of the papacy we find a description of two statues of magician-popes, Sylvester II and Gregory VII.

> By these were plac'd those dire incarnate fiends
> Studied in that black art, and that alone:
> One leagu'd himselfe to hell t'effect his ends,
> In Romes Bee-hive to live the soveraigne Drone:
> Another musters all the Divels his friends
> To pull his Lord out of his rightfull throne;
> And worse than any fiend, with magicke rite
> He casts into the fire the Lord of light:
> So sacrific'd his God to an infernall spright.[1]
> Locusts, III.38

In a later stanza the pope's pronouncements are identified as lying oracles as he sits on a chair "farre fetch't from Dodon ground".[2]

It can be seen that those literary works making extended use of the idea of Catholicism as a magical religion and institution belong to that period when England was threatened by Catholic attacks and conspiracies, i.e. roughly 1570s to 1607. These works

---

1. The reference is to the story of how Gregory tried to divine the death of the Emperor by means of the Host. When he failed to get an answer he threw the Sacrament into the fire in a rage. See Garter, Newyeares Gifte, E2v.
2. Locusts, IV.3.

also refer to a political struggle between national and papal authority. The period before this has been suggested to have been characterised by references to the nature of Catholicism as superstitious and magical. The period subsequent to these years offers negative evidence of a decline in the frequency of literary references to Catholicism and magic.

One significant fact about the works in this central period is the importance in many of them of the figure of Queen Elizabeth. Dekker and Heywood celebrated the miraculous preservations of Elizabeth in drama even as Foxe celebrated them in Protestant history. Spenser's Una is defended by the intervention of Providence in various shapes. She is rescued from Sansloy by "wondrous grace". The Woman clothed with the Sun (a symbol of the Church) is menaced by Satan the Dragon in the Apocalypse, but she is given the wings of an eagle and flies away.[1] The marginal gloss in the Genevan Bible notes that "God giveth meanes to his church to escape the furie of Satan ...". Since the Roman Church was portrayed as such a formidable and subtle magician as Archimago, and such a ruthless and cunning sorceress as the Empress of Babylon, it was well that God was watching over the Queen. Here the argument returns to Keith Thomas' contention that the Reformation took away the traditional weapons of the Church against magic and left the Christian with the duty of resignation to the will of God and trust in His providence. Elizabeth was seen as eminently blessed with God's protection and shadowed under the wings of His providence. She may be menaced with sorcery of all kinds in the literary works examined but is always delivered. Time and Truth the protectors of both

---

1. Revelation XII.xiv.

Queen and the Reformed religion discover the conjurer in The Whore of Babylon, and angels guard the sleeping Queen and give her the protective weapon of the Gospel in Heywood's If You Know Not Me I.

It was to memories of Elizabeth that England turned when Protestantism seemed once more in danger in the reigns of Charles II and James II. The celebration of her Accession Day, revived in the reign of James I despite attempts to have the King's Accession Day celebrated instead,[1] regained something of its old significance in times of Protestant fears. In 1678 we find that tableaux for the Accession Day celebrations included representations of the Pope with the devil in attendance as his Privy Councillor. Elizabeth was represented as crowned and bearing a shield (the semi-magical shield of Faith?) with the legend "The Protestant Religion and Magna Charta". The Pope was toppled into a bonfire.[2] A ballad printed in 1679 celebrates Elizabeth as the over-thrower of Rome,

> See here she comes, the great ELIZABETH
> Who the great Romish Babylon with her breath
> Threw to the ground:[3]

This chapter began with a quotation from Luther's great Reformation hymn describing the unequalled strength of the Devil, and surely also the devilish Papacy. One can almost see the embattled German city-state surrounded by its Catholic enemies. The chapter ends with the same hymn's expression of the belief that the power of

---

1. John Miller, Popery and Politics 1660-1688, pp.73-74.
2. J.E. Neale, "November 17th" in his Essays in Elizabethan History (1958), p.16.
3. Miller, Popery and Politics, p.74.

the Prince of this world is limited and that the Gospel will prevail against him.

Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär
Und wollt uns gar verschlingen,
So fürchten wir uns nicht zu sehr,
Es soll uns doch gelingen.
Der Fürst dieser Welt,
Wie saur er sich stellt,
Tut er uns doch nicht,
Das macht, er ist gericht,
Ein Wörtlein kann ihn fallen.

Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn
Und kein Dank dazu haben.
Er ist bei uns wohl auf dem Plan
Mit seinem Geist und Gaben.

PART TWO

CHAPTER TWO

Magic and Love in Poetry and Drama

Great god of might, that reignest in the mynd,
And all the bodie to thy hest doest frame,
Victor of gods, subduer of mankynd,
That doest the Lions and fell Tigers tame,
Making their cruell rage thy scornefull game,
And in their roring taking great delight;
Who can expresse the glorie of thy might?
Spenser, An Hymne of Love, 43-49

Thus saith my Cloris bright
When we of Love sit down and talk together
Beware of Love, Love is a walking sprite,
And Love is this and that,
And O I wot not what,
And comes and goes again I wot not whither.
John Wilbye, The First Set of Madrigals (1598) (ed. Fellowes, revised Dart), No. XI

Love is a familiar; Love is a devil. There is no evil angel but Love.
Shakespeare, Love's Labours Lost, I.ii.162-163

Yet beares he [Cupid] still his parents'
stately gifts,
A horned head, cloven foote, and thousand eyes,
Some gazing still, some winking wilye shiftes,
With long large eares where never rumour dyes.
His horned head doth seeme the heaven to spight:
His cloven foote doth never treade aright.
Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (Poems, ed. W.A. Ringler, p.21)

This chapter will attempt to examine the use of ideas about amatory magic in plays and poems of the period under consideration. The passages cited above have been chosen to illustrate the idea of the paradoxes of love, that it can be both angelic and demonic, that Cupid can be a horned demon as well as "the most meeke, and sweetest beast of all beastes, even fayre Cupide".[1] The examination will concern itself with what may be

---

1. Adlington, The xi Bookes of the Golden Asse (1566), f.52v.

seen as a spectrum of responses to ideas of love and magic. The highest end of this spectrum is the conception that love is too fine and noble a passion to be subject to the rough magic of amatory sorcery, and that all charms are unavailing and indeed violate a romantic decorum. Lower down the spectrum magic and love cease to be opposites and the attempt to win love is seen as a charm or magical operation, - the lover attempts to "charm" or "bewitch" the beloved. Connected with this idea is the identification of the convention of love being engendered in the eyes with the techniques of fascination. Lower down again the magical attempt to win love may be regarded as more sinister and such an essay may be associated with the Circe or enchantress tradition with its implication of the degrading or lowering effects of amatory enchantment. At the bottom of the spectrum is the idea that women are witches or demons and that the effects of love are comparable to the afflictions attendant on maleficium. A preliminary summary of instances of bewitchment from what would seem to be the comparatively scarce accusations in witch trials of attempts to procure love by magic, and ideas of love-magic available in some treatises, will be attempted. Such a survey will help to define the theoretical basis and fine distinctions of arguments on love-magic.

An examination of historical sources reveals instances of amatory magic both before and in the period under examination. In 1536 Chapuys wrote home to Charles V that Henry VIII believed that Anne Boleyn had seduced him by witchcraft and that his marriage was consequently null and void. The King was claiming that God had not given him male

heirs because of Anne's witchcraft.[1] There were proceedings against persons who were accused of peddling in love drinks and magically procuring rich husbands in 1519, 1526, 1552.[2] In 1559 a love-potion used by Frances Throgmorton drove her husband mad.[3] In 1561 Leonard Bilson, Prebendary of Winchester, procured a Catholic priest to hallow conjurations to enable him to win the love of Lady Cotton.[4] The Archdeacon of Canterbury in a visitation of 1582 took up the case of Goodwife Swan who claimed to be able to make a drink which made men fall in love with her.[5] In 1590 Thomas Fansome was apprehended by the High Commission in the diocese of Canterbury. He confessed to issuing one woman with a charm to make her husband love her.[6] John Prestall of London practised sorcery to win the affections of men and women in 1591. One of his customers had been promised a love drink.[7] Among the papers of Stephen Trefulacke, who was imprisoned in 1591, were formulae for obtaining the love of women.[8] In July 1595 Alice Marshall was said to have used a love-powder to make a man love her.[9] In the Overbury scandal in 1613 it was discovered that the Countess of Essex and Mrs Turner had visited

---

1. Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England, p.107; Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, X, pp.69-70.
2. Kittredge, p.107.
3. Ewen, Witchcraft and Demonianism, p.447.
4. Thomas, p.233.
5. Kittredge, p.108.
6. Thomas, p.233.
7. Kittredge, p.108. Kittredge cites another case, that of John Meere in 1585, in his list of proceedings against those practising love-magic. An examination of Kittredge's source for this incident reveals simply a description of Meere threatening a woman with the appearance of the devil if she did not accede to his request. Calendar of State Papers. Domestic. 1581-1590, pp.241, 246-248.
8. Thomas, p.302.
9. Macfarlane, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England, p.292, Case 1089.

Simon Forman to procure the love of the Earl of Somerset and Sir Christopher Mainwaring.[1] In the case of the Leicestershire witches 1618-1619 Margaret Flower was described as being transported with the love of Thomas Simpson who accused her of having bewitched him.[2] The witchcraft statutes 33 Hen. VIII c.8, 5 Eliz. c.16 and 1 Jas. c.12 all enacted penalties against using enchantment to provoke unlawful love.

Manuscripts surviving from the period bear witness to some belief in the efficacy of love-charms and conjurations. Recipes include rue gathered on a Sunday before sunrise, burned to ashes and introduced into the food of the object of the enchantment, apples or bread inscribed with the names of God or unintelligible charms, and the inscription of one's hands and touching a woman on the breast.[3] One manuscript displays something of an antiquarian interest in the subject. While referring to boiling a spider in a silver spoon, the brain of a cat, the hippomanes, garments of the dead and gillyflowers, the scribe helpfully refers to Agrippa, Gerard's Herball and the other sources from which he culled his recipes.[4] Conjurations "For the accomplishment of the pleasure of the flesh" occupy themselves with the making of images on virgin parchment and adjuring demons to make women burn with desire and "be so inflamed with my love As Iron is made hott by the fire". In this particular series of conjurations one is again struck by the indecorum of some of the adjurations to demons. The demons are commanded to make women inflamed with passion and unable to deny the conjurer their bodies by, among other things, the virginity of Christ's Mother.[5]

---

1. Thomas, p.234.
2. Ewen, Witchcraft and Demonianism, pp.231-232.
3. Sloane Ms. 3846, f.15.
4. Sloane Ms. 738, ff.42-43v.
5. Sloane Ms. 3851, ff.58v-60v.

An examination of the treatise-writers reveals that the operation of amatory magic was not simply thought to be a matter of cause and effect. On the contrary, most Continental theorists stated that amatory magic was in itself inefficacious. I will start with the English translation of Le Loyer's IIII Livres des Spectres, A Treatise of Specters. This work has been chosen because it is in the Continental tradition of argument, embodies scholastic points which will be referred to later, and is lucidly written. The English translation was definitely read by Middleton and probably by Shakespeare.

The context of the discussion is a consideration of the natural properties of things. Some say that charms can constrain man to love and hate. It is not likely that charms are efficacious because of either the virtue of the herbs in them or the influence of the stars that shone on their growth or cutting. It is not to be believed that herbs can so work on the body that the soul can feel their effect.[1] Now Apuleius, Propertius and others have described the use of charms by magicians when mixing their herbs. Propertius describes a sorceress stirring herbs in a ditch,

> ... what other thing doth he intend to shew, but that together with the hearbs, there were mingled also certaine charmes, the which did give a force and vigour to the hearbs to worke wonders by the cooperation of the divell.
> Treatise of Specters, xii, ff.136v-137

If a charm including conjured herbs gathered at astrologically propitious times does work

> it is the divell that doth so cooperate and worke with it, rather then any power or vertue of the starres, because thereby he intendeth to bring men into an errour, ...
> ibid., xii, f.137v

---

1. Treatise of Specters, xii, f.135v-136v.

Here we have an expression of the theory that charms work not because of any inherent virtue but because of the cooperation of the devil.[1]

Investigation of the opinion of Continental works on the power of the devil to make men love or hate reveals that this too is restricted. The Malleus, Part I, quaestio 7 examines the proposition whether witches can sway the minds of men to love or hate. Sprenger and Institoris conclude that the devil cannot cause extraordinary love by directly compelling man's will. One can see that a belief that this was possible would infringe on the power of man's free will. The devil can excite the fancy by presenting images and memories to the mind. He cannot force the will, for only God who created the soul can enter it. However the devil can enter the body and interfere with the faculties. To recapitulate the argument of the Malleus, the devil cannot directly change the will of man, but he can present temptations by inflaming the faculties.

Two Continental treatises also express these opinions and give further details. Nicholas Jacquier's Flagellum Haereticorum Fascinariorum emphasises that "fragilis ac debilis est humanae naturae conditio".[2] The human soul is divided into two parts. Devils cannot affect the higher part, the animus. In this only God has power, "solus Deus illabitur mentibus humanis".[3] All men sin of their own volition. However the devil can affect the lower division containing the sensitive or sensual parts, the fantasy and the appetite. The devil excites the appetite. He can mix up the humours when a man is awake or asleep. The devil tempted Judas Iscariot

---

1. The theoretical background to this is the idea that by using magical and superstitious ceremonies the magician makes a "tacit pact" with the devil. See Bodin, *Démonomanie*, II.ii, "Des invocations tacites des malings Esprits".
2. Flagellum Haereticorum, (ed. Frankfurt, 1581), xi, p.75.
3. ibid., xi, p.76.

by putting "imaginations" (repraesentationem) before nim. This is what S.Luke meant by the devil "entering" Judas.[1] Evil creeps in through the senses. So the devil tempts "interiorly" by disturbing the humours and the spirits, agitating the appetites and presenting images to the fantasy.[2] In the next chapter, on the power of the devil to inflict infirmities of the body, Jacquier says that not only can the devil cause physical infirmities "sed etiam sensuum abalienationes & furias". Satan can cause impotence and hinder conjugal affection.[3]

> Sicut enim Daemon commotione potest excitare appetitum & membra ad actum Venereum, ita etiam potest retrahere, ...
> Flagellum Haereticorum, xii, p.89

Grillandus in De Sortilegis places such arguments squarely in the context of the techniques of amatory magic. He describes mixtures to be eaten or drunk and charms to be put under the threshold. These include the entrails of birds and animals, mixtures of herbs or the roots of plants. The sacraments or sacramentals of the Church are often mixed in with them, or the magical objects have Masses said over them. The Host is especially used in love-potions. It is said that these things have power to attract those who eat them, but this is the deceit of the devil. No-one is compelled to sin against his will. If any effect comes from the charm it comes from the power of the devil. He plagues the woman with temptation so that she never gets a moment's rest. Meanwhile the sorcerer is busily plying her with love-letters and promises. The devil pursues the woman like a hunter or bird-catcher. She, weak creature, often yields "propter suam debilem naturam". This yielding does not come about through the efficacy of the charms. It is false

---

1. Luke XXII.iii.
2. Flagellum Haereticorum, xi, pp.75-84.
3. ibid., xii, pp.88-89.

what the "vulgares" say, that love can be compelled by potions. Even the devil cannot force the will, for God will not allow man's free-will to be taken away. The devil tempts the desires of the flesh.[1]

In treatises in English we find that the subject does not seem to have aroused the same interest as it did in writers in the Continental tradition. Scot, drawing heavily on Wier's De Praestigiis, significantly places his brief discussion of love-philtres in the book of the Discoverie dealing with veneficae, witches who work by poison. Love-potions, or rather poisons, deprive the brain of its power to function and sometimes kill. Scot quotes from Ovid on the fallacy of believing that "slibbersawces given to maids" can produce love. Love-potions with their unappetising ingredients are "Toies to mocke apes".[2]

Gifford's ideas are much closer to the thinking of Jacquier and Grillandus. The devil can inflame the passions of men.

> And marke well I pray you, the power of devils is in the hearts of men, as to harden the heart, to blinde the eies of the mind, and from the lustes and concupiscences which are in them, to inflame them unto wrath, malice, envy, and cruell murthers: to puffe them up in pride, arrogancy and vaine glory: to entice them unto wantonnesse, and whordomes, and all uncleannesse.
> Dialogue, C2-C2v

Alexander Roberts, who to judge by his arguments had been reading Continental treatises, says that not only can witches, with the permission of God and the help of the devil, hurt men and beasts, but they can also affect the mind.

> In minde, stirring up men to lust, to hatred, to love, and the like passions, and that by altering the inward and outward sences, either in forming some new object, or offering the same to the eye...
> Treatise, p.17

---

1. De Sortilegiis (ed. Frankfurt, 1592), quaestio 3, numeri 15-18, pp.26-30.
2. Discoverie, VI.vi-vii.

Devils can also stir up the humours.

> As for example, when they would provoke to love or hatred, they propound an object under the shew and appearance of that which is good and beautifull, so that it may be desired and embraced: ...
>
> Treatise, p.18

Roberts gives the usual example from S.Jerome's life of S.Hilarion and says that it would be easy to instance other testimonies. He again reminds the reader that the witch always receives power from the devil to do these things.[1]

Ideas about amatory magic at their most skeptical entered English literature of the period under examination through the medium of John Lyly's Euphues and his England (1580). I would suggest that Lyly profoundly influenced the development and use of the idea that love was too fine and noble a passion to be affected by magic. G.K. Hunter comments on Lyly's Euphues books

> Euphues was a success without parallel in its age: by 1581 five editions of The Anatomy of Wit had been published and four of its sequel [Euphues and his England]; by 1630 there were twenty-six editions of the separate works and three editions of a double volume.
>
> John Lyly, p.72

Euphues was the most popular book of its age.[2] Of the two parts of Euphues "the treatment of love becomes a much more exclusive concern" in Eupnues and his England.[3] In this work Philautus visits the magician Psellus.[4] Philautus is desperate for the love of Camilla and resolves to make an attempt on her by magic. The narrative disapproves strongly as the young man attempts things "that are contrarie to his owne mind, to Religion, to honestie".[5] Philautus explains his plight and makes his request to Psellus

---

1. Treatise, p.18.
2. Hunter, John Lyly, p.61.
3. ibid., p.63.
4. The name must, I suppose, be taken from the eleventh century author of De Operatione Daemonum. Citations of this author, usually on the corporeality of demons or the degrees of elementals, are common in the works of such writers as Wier, Bodin and Scot.
5. Eupnues and his England (Works, ed. Bond, Vol.II), p.109, lines 24-25.

who retorts,

> What the force of love is, I have knowen, what the effects have bene I have heard, yet could I never learne that ever love could be wonne, by the vertues of hearbes, stones or words.
> Euphues and his England (Works, ed. Bond, Vol. II), p.114, lines 15-17

In this immensely popular work standing at the fountain head of traditions of Elizabethan courtship and the conceited language of love, we find blunt statements that love-magic does not work and that it is a disgraceful action to seek to try its effects on the beloved.

Lyly's scepticism of love-magic in this episode has two sources. The significance of one source, Pliny's Natural History, for this passage has not been fully recognised, and the existence of the other, Johann Wier's De Praestigiis Daemonum, has remained unsuspected.

Bond places Pliny next to Plutarch in importance among the classical authors as sources for Lyly's works.[1] The notes in Bond's edition are eloquent testimony to the importance of the Natural History. It is from this work that Lyly gathered the endless series of conceits and references drawn from natural history. In his notes to the passage describing the visit of Philautus to Psellus, Bond refers to Pliny's work over ten times. From Pliny Lyly took the names of several aphrodisiacs mentioned by Psellus. An examination of a few of the passages in the Natural History reveals scathing comments about magic. The "Apocynon"[2] is a frog's bone which Pliny says is an aphrodisiac and repels the attacks of dogs. If one is to believe magicians, says Pliny, frogs should be considered more beneficial to humanity than laws.[3] "Catanance"[4] Pliny mentions as being used for love-

1. Works, Vol. I, p.156.
2. Euphues and his England, p.115, line 24.
3. Natural History, XXXII.xviii.
4. Euphues and his England, p.115, line 33.

potions; he also mentions the frauds of sorcery.[1] "Achimenis"[2] occurs in a section in Pliny which refers to the deceits of magic.[3] "Osthanes"[4] is an authority on magic mentioned in Pliny. The chapter in which he appears is Natural History, XXX.ii. The preceding chapter opening Book XXX begins with Pliny referring to the fact that in the previous part of his work he has refuted magical vanities and that he will continue to do so. Natural History, XXX.ii says that Osthanes sowed the seeds of the monstrous craft wherever he went.[5]

The other major source used by Lyly for this passage was Johann Wier's De Praestigiis Daemonum. Several of the passages cited below were attributed by Bond to more distant classical authors but the fact that Bond failed to discover sources for passages in Lyly's discussion of amatory magic which can be found in Wier, and the collocation of identical extracts make it obvious that it was in the De Praestigiis that Lyly found them. The passages may be compared as follows. It can be seen that in some cases Lyly expanded or contracted his originals.

---

1. Natural History, XXVII.xxxv.
2. Euphues and his England, p.117, line 25.
3. Natural History, XXVI.ix.
4. Euphues and his England, p.113, line 23.
5. I believe that Natural History, XXX.vii prompted Lyly's passage skeptical of the nature of love-charms in which he compares love to toothache. "They invented as many Enchauntments for love, as they did for the Tooth-ach,, but he that tryed both will say that the best charme for a Toothe, is to pull it out, and the best remedie for Love, to weare it out.". Euphues and his England, p.116, lines 35-38. In Natural History, XXX.vii Pliny says that one special argument demonstrating the folly of magicians is that they set great store by moles. For example a tooth taken from a living mole is a remedy for toothache. Pliny is then easily diverted from moles to toothache and gives a long list of supposed cures for it (XXX.viii). Lyly, in using examples from Pliny, would have found several comments alluding to the inefficacy of magic and "fraudulentissima artium".

What saiest thou Philautus, canst thou imagine so great mischiefe against hir thou lovest? Knowest thou not, that Fish caught with medicines, & women gotten with witchcraft are never wholesom?

Euphues and his England, p.108, lines 21-24

Et ut idem Plutarchus scribit in Admonitionibus connubialibus, sicut piscatio quae sit medicamentis, cito quidem & facile piscem capit, sed eum labefactat, & mensae minime idoneum reddit: sic qui amatoriis artibus carminibusque conjuges voluptatis causa subigere conantur, ...

De Praestigiis, (ed. Basle, 1566), II.liii, pp.365-366

And if you want medicines to winne women, I have yet more, the lungs of a Vultur, the ashes of Stellio, the left stone of a Cocke, the tongue of a Goose, the brayne of a Cat, the last haire of a Wolves taile. Thinges easie to be hadde, and commonlye practised, so that I would not have thee stande in doubte of thy love, when either a young Swallow famished, or the shrowding sheete of a deere friend, or a waxen Taper that burnt at his feete, or the enchaunted Needle that Medea hid in Jasons sleeve, are able not onely to make them desire love, but also dye for love.

Euphues and his England, p.116, lines 14-22

Inter amatoria adhaec venena connumerantur, in extrema lupi cauda pilus, eiusque virga, remora pisciculus, felis cerebrum, & lacertae, stellio cui stincus nomen: ... Aliud experimentum simile ex hirundinum pullis: Accipiuntur ii unius foeturae aut nidi, qui in olla conditi, in terra sepeliuntur, ut suffocati fame pereant. post ex effossis qui hiante rostro mortui inveniuntur, amori: ... Habentur & alia philtra, a mortuorum vestibus, candelis, acubus, & iis universim que funerum gratia paruntur, sumpta.

De Praestigiis, II.lii, pp.359-360

If incantation, or potions, or amorous sayings could have prevailed, Circes would never have lost Ulysses, nor Phaedra Hippolitus, nor Phillis Demophoon.

Euphues and his England, p.117, lines 1-3

Neque enim Circem (ut subdit [Plutarchus]) ab ea potionati quicquam iuverunt, nec ipsa ulla in re illis abutebatur, cum suum asinorumque formam accepissent: Ulyssem vero mente praeditum, & prudenter cum ipsa versantem, incredibili amore prosequuta est.

De Praestigiis, II.liii, p.366

Propertius item libro secundo, Eleg. I. huius est sententiae, cum inquit:

Seu mihi sint tagenda novercae pocula Phaedrae,
Pocula privigno non nocitura suo.

Nam loquitur de poculis amatoriis quibus Phaedra Hippolytum privignum in amorem illicere tentavit: at nihil ea profuere.

ibid., II.liii, p.364

Lucilia ministring an amorous potion unto hir husband Lucretius, procured his death, whose life she onely desired. Aristotle noteth one that beeing inflamed with the beautie of a faire Ladye, thought by medicine to procure his blisse, and wrought in the ende hir bane: So was Caligula slaine of Caesonia, and Lucius Lucullus of Calistine.

Euphues and his England, p.117, lines 16-21

Hinc Eubebius Caesariensis scribit, Lucretium poetam amatorio poculo in tantum furorem versum, ut se tandem propria manu interemerit. Sicut poculum, & eam Lucillam vocatam, ex Hieronymi testimonio in Rufinum cuius haec sunt verba: Livia virum suum interfecit, quem nimis odit: Lucilla suum, quem nimis amavit. ...

Tradiderunt item literarum monumentis Cornelius Nepos & Plutarchus, Lucium Lucullum imperatorem amatorio quoque poculo a Callisthene propinato, primum mente laesum fuisse, deinde interemptum. Meminit & Plinius libro 25. ca.3. circa finem. Narrat quoque Josephus & Suetonius, C. Caligulam a Caesonia uxore potionatum, amatorio quidem medicamento, sed quod in furorem verterit.

De Praestigiis, II.liii, pp.361-362

Philip King of Macedon casting his eye uppon a fayre Virgin became enamoured, which Olympias his wife perceiving thought him to bee enchaunted, and caused one of hir servauntes to bring the Mayden unto hir, whome shee thought to thrust both to exile and shame: but vieweing hir fayre face with-out blemyshe, hir chaste eyes with-out glauncinge, hir modest countenaunce, hir sober and woemanlye behaviour, finding also hir vertues to be no lesse then hir beautie, shee sayde, in thy selfe there are charmes, meaning that there was no greater enchauntment in love, then temperaunce, wisdome, beautie & chastitie.

Euphues and his England, p.118, lines 12-21

> Amabat Philippus Macedonum rex puellam quandam plebiam: facileque utriusque fortuna longe dissimiles, eam regi obsequentem fecerat. Quod cum rescisset Olympias eius uxor, id aegre admodum tulit, praesertim quod ferebatur ea puella amatoriis philtris sibi Philippum conciliasse. Ideoque irata, jussit clam domo extractam ad se puellam duci, eo quidem animo, ut carcere aliquo clausam, aut in longinquas regiones trans mare religatam, male haberet. Productam vero ante se cum speciosam, venustam, ingeniosam, elegantem, & omnibus modis ac numeris amabilem vidisset, ... Valeant, inquit Olympias, calumnie: tu enim in teipsa veneficiorum vim habes. nec iam puellae amplius, aut marito suo irata fuit.
>
> De Praestigiis, II.liii, p.365

Lyly had read more of the De Praestigiis than just II.lii-liii, for he takes the details for some love-charms from a later chapter in Wier.

> This is the poyson Philautus, the enchauntment, the potions that creepeth by sleight into the minde of a woeman, and catcheth hir by assuraunce, better than the fonde devices of olde dreames, as an Apple with an Ave Marie, or a hasill wand of a yeare olde crossed with six Charactors, or the picture of Venus in Virgin Wax, or the Image of Camilla uppon a Moulwarpes Skinne.
>
> Euphues and his England, p.119, lines 26-31

In the De Praestigiis, Book IV Wier gives various charms including a remedy for the biting of a mad dog,

> simili curationis ratione celebrem, qui pomi particulae inscribit, Hax pax max Deus adimax, ...
>
> De Praestigiis, IV.vii, p.510

There are several references to the use of Marian prayers in charms in Book IV, notably in the fourth chapter. Wier also gives a charm against a thief or enemy,

> Si furem, sagam, inimicum secus laedere voles, & malum tolli: ante solis exortum, die sabbathi, ramum avellenae anniculum abscindes, sic dicens: Ego te ramum huius aetatis reseco, in illius nomine, quem cedere aut mutilare institui. Inde in mensa sternatur tegumentum, additis his verbis: + in nomine Patris + & Filii + & Spiritus sancti +. ter haec & sequentia recitentur, & incute, droch, myrroch esenaroth + betu + baroch + ass + maaroth.[1]
>
> De Praestigiis, IV.v, p.506

Wier also describes the technique of amatory magic by a wax image.

> In mulieris amore conciliando, conficitur in hora Veneris imago, ex cera virginea in amatae nomine: ...
>
> ibid., IV.ix, p.519

Lyly probably here misread an "image of Venus" for "an image made in the hour of Venus". The final detail of the "Moulwarpes Skinne" supports the contention that Lyly had read Pliny, Natural History, XXX.vii on the great store magicians set by the wonderful properties of moles.

Johann Wier was one of the great sceptics in the history of witchcraft. As in the case of Pliny, we find that those sections from which Lyly borrowed contain assertions of the inefficacy of the practices described. The heading to II.liii is "Quod amatoria pocula, hippomanes, & quaecunque id genus alia, citius furorem inducant, quam amorem concilient", and that to IV.ix is "De characteribus, imaginibus, figuris, exorcismis, rebusque illicitis, quibus thesaurus inquiritur, claustra aperiuntur, capillitio suspenduntur maleficae, objiciunturque reliqua diaboli ludibria".

---

1. It is worth remarking that a quick reading of these last magical words divided with the sign of the cross, "ass+maaroth" (the words are quite close together in Wier's treatise), might produce "asstmaaroth". One version of the name of the demon under Bacon's control in Greene's Friar Bacon is "Astmeroth" (xi.106). Scot reproduces this charm and the form "ass+maaroth" from Wier in the Discoverie, XII.xviii, p.269. The type used for the sign of the cross in the Discoverie is however much bolder than that used for the rest of the text.

Thus Lyly found together with his material a critical and sceptical attitude towards it. In his presentation of the visit of Philautus to Psellus, Lyly, as well as having Psellus deny the efficacy of amatory magic, brands the attempt to win love by magic as dishonest, irreligious and contrary to the code of obtaining the love of the beloved through merit and by honest courtship. Lyly also adduces the religious argument that none can alter the heart and mind of a creature except the Creator.[1] This may be compared with the citation of Augustine by Jacquier mentioned above, that only God has power to enter the minds of men.

Lyly had not forgotten his reading of Wier when he came to write Endimion which was performed before the Queen at Court 2 February 1588. He recalls in the play the axiom which he had found in the De Praestigiis. Floscula warns Tellus

> ... you shal finde that love gotten by witch-craft is as unpleasant, as fish taken with medicines unwholsome.
> Endimion (Works, ed. Bond, Vol. III), I.ii.75-77

The play insists that love cannot be produced by witchcraft. Floscula also tells Tellus that

> Affection that is bred by enchauntment, is like a flower that is wrought in silke, in colour and forme most like, but nothing at all in substaunce or savour.
> Endimion, I.ii.70-73

and refers to the attempt as monstrous and impossible.[2] In spite of the warnings Tellus approaches the witch Dipsas and her question might almost be a proposition for debate in a witchcraft treatise.

> Is it possible by hearbes, stones, spels, incantation, enchauntment, exorcismes, fire, mettals, plannets, or any practise, to plant affection where it is not, and to supplant it where it is?
> ibid., I.iv.14-17

---

1. Euphues and his England, p.114, lines 7-9.
2. Endimion, I.iv.6-8.

Dipsas, after a few lines of self-advertisement, has to admit that it is not. She can do anything but tamper with the affections. Her

> ...therin I differ from the Gods, that I am not able to rule harts; ...
> Endimion, I.iv.23-24

represents an echo in a pagan setting of lines in Euphues and his England.

> Do you thinke Gentleman that the minde being created of God, can be ruled by man, or that anye one can move the heart, but he that made the heart?
> Euphues and his England, p.114, lines 7-9

Now Lyly, as has been noted in the section on classical sources, found Dipsas and some of her magical characteristics in Ovid, Amores, I.viii. Ovid's Dipsas knows about the power of herbs, the twirling thread and the hippomanes in amatory magic.[1] Lyly has again rejected the power of witchcraft to interfere with the emotions.

The limitation of the power of witchcraft in the play and its inability to affect the emotions has another function. This is to compliment Elizabeth, who is portrayed as Cynthia. Eumenides comments to Endimion that it is impossible to make the moon love.[2] The Queen of the skies and the Virgin Queen of England are immune. Dipsas is as powerless to alter the course of Cynthia as she is to make men love. Cynthia's statement of the inefficacy of magic acquires, I would suggest, a significance that was proposed in the previous chapter. Elizabeth is invulnerable to the machinations of witches and sorcerers and has the special protection of Heaven. Cynthia reproves Dipsas,

> Thou hast threatned to turn my course awry, and alter by thy damnable Arte the government that I now possesse by the eternall Gods. But knowe thou Dipsas, and let all Enchaunters knowe, that Cynthia, beeing placed for light on earth, is also protected by the powers of heaven. Breath out thou mayst wordes, gather thou mayst hearbes, finde out thou maist stones agreeable

---

1. Amores, I.viii.7-8.
2. Endimion, I.i.19-20.

> to thine Arte, yet of no force to appall my heart,
> in which courage is so rooted, and constant
> perswasion of the mercie of the Gods so grounded,
> that all thy witch-craft I esteeme as weake,
> as the world dooth thy case wretched.
> Endimion, V.iii.24-33

Several classical witches had the ability to draw the moon from the sky and certainly Ovid describes both Medea and Dipsas as interfering with the moon's light. A subtle and complimentary parallel is built up between the inability of Dipsas to alter Endimion's basically praiseworthy devotion to Cynthia and her inability to alter Cynthia's government.[1]

A light-hearted anonymous poem on the theme of the inability of either natural properties or conjuration ("words") to induce love may be found in England's Helicon.

> Hearbs, words, and stones, all maladies have cured,
> Hearbs, words, and stones, I used when I loved:
> Hearbs smells, words winde, stones hardnes have procured,
> By stones, nor words, nor hearbs her mind was moved.
> I ask'd the cause: this was a womans reason,
> Mongst hearbs are weedes, and thereby are refused:
> Deceite as well as trueth speakes words in season,
> False stones by foiles have many one abused.
> I sigh'd, and then she sayd, my fancie smoaked,
> I gaz'd, she sayd, my lookes were follies glauncing:
> I sounded dead, she sayd my love was choaked,
> I started up, she sayd, my thoughts were dauncing.
> Oh sacred Love, if thou have any Godhead:
> Teach other rules to winne a maydenhead.
> England's Helicon (ed. Rollins),
> Vol.I, p.131

---

1. It is not proposed here to explicate a possible political allegory in the play. Attempts have been made and these noted by Hunter, John Lyly, pp.186-189. However the theme of the Reformed Religion and her enemies suggests itself in connection with the magical material. Traces of the idea of Elizabeth as patroness of the Reformation may be detected in her relationship with the sages Gyptes and Pythagoras. In a passage in Pliny (Natural History, XXX.ii) which Lyly had read, and a passage in Wier (De Praestigiis, IV.ii) which because of its contiguity to passages used by Lyly it is likely that he had read, Pythagoras is mentioned. He travelled far to learn the magic arts. In the play he and Gyptes are sent for by Cynthia as experts on magic. Cynthia converts both philosophers. We find that she has exposed the follies of Pythagoras and her brightness has "reformed" him.

The heading to the poem says that it was sung before the Queen at Oxford. The poem may therefore be seen partly as another compliment to Elizabeth in the Lyly tradition.[1] Generally the poem states the invulnerability of love to magic.

Fidele and Fortunio was first performed at Court at some point between 1579 and 1584 and was probably written by Anthony Munday. It is an adaptation of Luigi Pasqualigo's Il Fedele. From the Italian play the English playwright took the details for the scenes involving amatory magic. Medusa's charms in I.iii. 333-336, 343-352, 359-362 are taken from those in Il Fedele, I.ix, with a few changes, apparently determined by the English rhyme-scheme. The charms in I.iii.370-375 seem to be mainly the invention of the English dramatist with a few hints from the Italian.[2] Similarly the magical rites in Fidele and Fortunio, II.ii are borrowed from Il Fedele, III.iii except that the English dramatist seems to have wanted to play down the diabolic element,[3] and also to make the details of the conjuration appear comic. Pedante's parody of the demonic names (II.ii.565-566) has no original in the Italian play.

A significant discrepancy between the Italian original and the English adaptation occurs during the first meeting between Victoria and Medusa. In both plays Victoria longs for the love of Fortunio and a maid helpfully introduces an enchantress to her mistress. Here is the exchange in the Italian play.

1. Rollins says the poem was taken from Speeches Delivered ... At The Right Honorable the Lady Russels (1592) and that Bond attributed the poem "without evidence" to Lyly. England's Helicon, Vol. II, pp.161-162.
2. The first ingredient in Fidele and Fortunio, "A wanton Goates braine" (I.iii.370) suggests a mistranslation of "cervello di Gatta" ("the brain of a cat"). Il Fedele (ed. Venice, 1579), I.ix, f.21v. The latter is often mentioned as an ingredient in philtres.
3. "Vi scongiuro ministri di Sattanasso" ("I conjure you, ministers of Satan". Il Fedele, II.iii, f.26) becomes "I conjure you, you foule infernall knot of baser sprites". Fidele and Fortunio (MSR), II.ii.568.

Beatrice. Ecco signora chi puo soccorrere al vostro bisogno, le ho detto ogni cosa.
Vittoria. Donna Medusa mi getto nelle vostre braccia, aiutatemi.[1]

In the English play Victoria turns momentarily on the helpful maid.

Attilia. Be not afraid therfore in this: this woman's aide to crave.
Shee can enchant, and woorke wunders, by Magicks learned art:
She can with woordes, with charmes and hearbes, give you Fortunioes hart.
Make much of her.
Victoria. Ah foole, I knowe that loove is such a passion of the minde:
As neither Ayrye Sprites can rule, nor force of Magick binde.
Fidele and Fortunio, I.iii.321-327

Admittedly in both plays Victoria goes on to show interest in Medusa's collection of charms and conjurations, but there is nothing in the original scene in the Italian play to suggest Victoria's declamation of the invulnerability of love to magic. Victoria's rebuttal may be compared with part of Psellus' denial of the efficacy of amatory magic.

Love dwelleth in the minde, in the will, and in the hearts, which neyther Conjurer canne alter nor Phisicke.
Euphues and his England, p.118, lines 24-25

In the play Fortunio remains unaffected by the image-magic of Medusa, and Fedele expresses to Victoria the disgust that he feels for such an attempt. All these details are compatible with the views expressed in Euphues and his England.[2]

---

1. "Beatrice. Look Madam, here is the woman who can help you in your need. I have told her everything. Victoria. Medusa, I place myself entirely in your hands. Help me." Il Fedele, I.ix, f.20v.
2. Two small changes from the Italian play again offer evidence of the association of magic and anti-Catholic sentiment. The stage-direction opening the conjuration scene begins "Medusa, Vittoria, & Beatrice vengono fuori di casa vestite da serve, con candele accese, ...". The English play has the women dressed as nuns, not servants. Fidele and Fortunio, II.ii.492-493. There is no suggestion in the Italian that Medusa uses the sign of "the holy Crosse" in her image-magic. Fidele and Fortunio, II.ii.554.

The date of the first production of The Wars of Cyrus is uncertain. Brawner in his edition thinks the play should be dated 1576-1580, although he notes that Schelling, Tucker-Brooke and others date it after 1587. The later date was assigned because critics detected in the play the influence of Tamburlaine, an influence which certainly suggests itself constantly during the play. In this play we again see a rejection of the idea that magic can produce love. If the play is assigned to the later date, then Lyly's passage may have been in the playwright's mind. Brawner notes that the magician episode is not in the play's main source, a translation of Xenophon's Cyropaedia (1567) and that it is the most striking addition in the play.[1] In view of the addition of the incident to the plot one can see it as another set-piece enhancing the conception of true love. The Magician's boast,

> Doubt not the operation of this charme,
> For I have tride it on Dianas nymph
> And made her wanton and lascivious.
> If Panthea be a Goddesse, she must yield.
> Wars of Cyrus, ed. Brawner,
> III.ii.766-769

is soon proved to be empty. His magical technique, which is to put some charms underneath the pillow of Panthea's bed, fails.[2] In view of the frequent characterisation of Elizabeth as one of Diana's nymphs and the fact that the title-page of the 1594 quarto proclaims that the play was performed by the Children of the Queen's Chapel, I think that it is possible to see another complimentary allusion to the Virgin Queen. That is, amatory magic is inefficacious against chastity. Panthea awakes complaining of dreams and false illusions and the magician's promises are unfulfilled. Later the magician confesses that Panthea's virtues frustrated his art. Araspas exclaims, "Must

1. The Wars of Cyrus, ed. Brawner, pp.20-28.
2. An allusion to this technique may be found in Grillandus who mentions the placing of magical objects "sub capite lecti". De Sortilegis, quaestio 3, numerus 15, p.27.

Magicke yeeld to vertue?". The Magician is quickly driven to another evasion.

> Reason, my Lord, was the predominant;
> Her intellectual part stirred against love,
> And Magicke cannot commaund the soule.
> The Wars of Cyrus, III.ii.865-867

Brawner (p.135) noted the similarity of this to Lyly's sentiments. The magician cannot even kill Panthea and pleads that magic cannot touch a man's life.[1]

In The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll the use of a love-potion is quite clearly seen as a violation of the decorum of love. Flores' daughter, Cornelia, is given a powder by her father to put in Alberdure's wine. She expresses a correct distaste for the project.

> Then father, shall we seeke sinister meanes,
> Forbidden by the lawes of God and men?
> Can that love prosper which is not begun
> By the direction of some heavenly fate?
> The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll (MSR), I.i.225-228

An attempt to win a person's love by magical means violates divine and civil (Elizabethan?) law. Lines 227-228 are ambiguous enough to suggest "heavenly fate" in the shape of both Divine Providence and winged Cupid. That is, love is both a bond between man and woman ordained by God and also the inevitable attraction between the right partners. In the play the potion has the effect of driving Alberdure mad. This may be seen as part of the skeptical tradition of Wier, Lyly and Scot. Love-potions will not work, but we have the evidence of "history" that they may drive one mad. Dodypoll says that the potion drove

---

1. This is technically untrue. The witch with the aid of the devil and with the permission of God may kill. Brawner (p.135) says that the idea that witchcraft was ineffective in this respect was quite widespread and cites Gifford's Dialogue, sig. K3. I can only assume that Brawner took Gifford's statement "A witch by the word of God ought to die the death not because she killeth men, for that she cannot ..." out of context. Gifford is here making the distinction that it is in the power of the devil to work harm, not the witch herself. Gifford makes clear that the devil can kill with the permission of God, Dialogue, D3.

Alberdure mad because he took too much of it,[1] but this explanation comes very late in the play and I think may be regarded as an attempt by Dodypoll to disclaim responsibility rather than a suggestion that the potion might really have worked if it had been administered in the right quantity. Alberdure's short mad speeches have those flashes of cogency which are familiar in the speeches of mad-men in the drama of the period. For example, he refers to a lover swimming immediately after Leander has spoken.[2] He also successfully diagnoses in general terms the cause of his distraction.

> Aye me, what Demon was it gulde me thus?
> This is Melpomene that Scottish witch,
> Whom I will scratche, like to some villanous gibb, ...
> The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll,
> III.ii.902-904

The reference to a Scottish witch suggests that the playwright may have been thinking of the case of the witches of Berwick, and may have known of the pamphlet Newes from Scotland (1591). The idea that the drawing of blood from a witch's face removed a curse or at least alleviated its effects, was a popular conception, although generally frowned upon by orthodox treatise-writers.[3]

One interesting fact about the plot by Flores and the reluctant Cornelia to enchant Alberdure is that it is an attempt at a liaison between disparate social classes. In persuading Cornelia to administer the potion, Flores clearly sees the association of his daughter and Alberdure as an instrument of social advancement.

> We are (by birth) more noble then our fortunes,
> Why should we then, shun any meanes we can,
> To raise us to our auncient states againe?
> The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll, I.i.220-222

When the device of the potion has been discovered, Flores is chided for his ambition by Hardenburgh.[4] Amatory magic of some kind was often seized upon as an

1. The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll, III.ii.920-921.
2. ibid., III.ii.858-861.
3. See below, pp.218-219.
4. The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll, IV.i.1206ff.

explanation for an extraordinary and inexplicable affection or even a mésalliance between a person and his or her social inferior.[1] The manifestation of this idea in plays of the seventeenth century will be noted below. Thus in The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll the use of amatory magic is seen as a violation of the social proprieties as well as those of correct romantic love.

The Faerie Queene, Book III exalts the virtues of chastity and chaste love. Elizabeth is complimented in the persons of Belphoebe and Britomart. Magic makes its appearance in connexion with love three times and each time it is clearly set in opposition to the virtues that Spenser is extolling. We find that it cannot and should not affect the true and faithful love of both Britomart and Amoret.

Britomart falls in love with the image of Arthegall which she sees in Merlin's mirror. Her very proper exhibition of a lover's emotions and her pining arouse the concern of Glauce who attempts by magic to charm away Britomart's love. Britomart and Glauce return from a morning visit to church.

> Returned home, the royall Infant fell
> Into her former fit; for why, no powre
> Nor guidance of her selfe in her did dwell.
> But th'aged Nurse her calling to her bowre,
> Had gathered Rew, and Savine, and the flowre
> Of Camphora, and Calamint, and Dill,
> All which she in an earthen Pot did poure,
> And to the brim with Colt wood did it fill,
> And many drops of milke and bloud through it did spill.

---

1. It was used as the explanation for the infatuation of monarchs for mistresses and favourites. For the infatuation of Edward III for Alice Perrers, see Kittredge, p.105. For the allegations that both Wolsey and Cromwell used magic rings to gain the favour of Henry VIII, see Thomas, p.233. Several of the devils in Scot's list borrowed from Wier's Pseudomonarchia specialise in gaining the favour of lords and princes. Discoverie, XV.ii. On a more humble level, in 1619 a gentlewoman whose daughter had eloped with a ploughboy attributed her daughter's affection to amatory magic. Ewen, Witchcraft in the Star Chamber, p.12.

Then taking thrise three haires from off her head,
Them trebly breaded in a threefold lace,
And round about the pots mouth, bound the thread,
And after having whispered a space
Certaine sad words, with hollow voice and bace,
She to the virgin said, thrise said she it;
Come daughter come, come; spit upon my face,
Spit thrise upon me, thrise upon me spit;
Th'uneven number for this businesse is most fit.

That sayd, her round about she from her turnd,
She turned her contrarie to the Sunne,
Thrise she her turnd contrary, and returnd,
All contrary, for she the right did shunne,
And ever what she did, was streight undonne.
So thought she to undoe her daughter's love:
But love, that is in gentle brest begonne,
No idle charmes so lightly may remove,
That well can witnesse, who by triall it does prove.
III.ii.49-51

It has been noted by many commentators[1] that Spenser drew on the pseudo-Virgilian Ciris for this scene, a work which also contains the name "Britomart". The resemblances were most recently noted by H.M. Belden.[2] From the Ciris Spenser took the details of the wooden bowl bound around three-times-three and the spitting. Upton quoted Euripides' Medea with reference to the blood and the milk, but Ovid's Medea would seem to have been a more accessible source.[3] Upton said that the plants are those "whose efficacious powers in medicine are said to abate desires of venery, and to procure barrenness"[4] but irritatingly gave no references.[5] Interestingly in both the Ciris and the sources on which the Ciris itself draws, Virgil, Eclogues, VIII, Tibullus and so on, and with which Spenser would have been familiar, the magic is

---

1. Variorum FQ, Bk. III, pp.218-222,330.
2. "Two Spenser Notes", MLN, 44 (1929), pp.526-531.
3. Metamorphoses, VII. 242-247.
4. Variorum Bk. III, p.221.
5. A cursory examination of several sixteenth century herbals has failed to document Upton's statement, except that some of the plants are mentioned as abortives. Paradoxically I have come across both rue and calaminta (mint) as ingredients in amatory magic in Sloane Ms. 3846, f.15 and Grillandus, De Sortilegis, quaestio 3, numerus 16, p.27, respectively.

used to produce love. Glauce uses the techniques to abate the passion. Spenser rejects the power of magic to influence love one way or another. Glauce's widdershins movement and its description "for she the right did shunne", with the possible meaning "she did wrong" suggests unnatural actions. Magic cannot affect "gentle breasts". Again there is a possible ambiguity in the word "gentle" and an available meaning is "breasts in which the passion of love is noble". Love of the ideal kind described at the opening of Canto iii,

> Most sacred fire, that burnest mightily
> In living brests, ykindled first above,
> Emongst th'eternall spheres and lamping sky,
> And thence pourd into men, which men call Love;
> Not that same, which doth base affections move
> In brutish minds, and filthy lust inflame,
> But that sweet fit, that doth true beautie love,
> And choseth vertue for his dearest Dame,
> Whence spring all noble deeds and never dying fame:

is too important a thing to be affected by magic.

The second incident involves the unfortunate Florimell. In Canto vi she meets the witch and her son, and the latter conceives for Florimell "affection bace" and "brutish lust", terms echoing the condemned emotions placed in contradistinction to true virtuous love in Canto iii.1. After Florimell's flight, the witch's son suffers the torment of loss. Again we find that the power of magic cannot alter the strength of attachment, even an attachment of a far baser kind than that of Britomart to the image of Artnegall. The witch tries to assuage her son's passion magically.

> All wayes she sought, him to restore to plight,
> With herbs, with charms, with counsell, and with teares
> But tears, nor charms, nor heros, nor counsell might
> Asswage the fury, which his entrails teares:
> III.vii.21

The witch in desperation calls up a spirit like a hyena to pursue Florimell. I believe that magical material can illuminate this episode. The hyena is often mentioned in the context of amatory magic as the parts of its body are referred to as ingredients in

philtres. Wier mentions a charm involving a hyena's womb.[1] Psellus in Euphues and his England refers to the hyena as greatly esteemed by magicians for its amatory virtues.

> But I will not forgette as it were the Methridate of the Magitians, the Beast Hiena, of whom there is no parte so small, or so vyle, but it serveth for their purpose: Insomuch that they accompt Hyena their God that can doe al, and their Divel that will doe all.
>
> Euphues and his England, p.116, lines 5-8

Although Bond does not seem to have noted the fact, Lyly's source for the magical properties of the hyena is Pliny, Natural History, XXVIII.xxvii. Pliny says that magicians hold the animal in great estimation for its magical powers. They think it can take away men's senses and entice them to itself. He notes the belief that three separate parts of its body have aphrodisiacal virtues. It may be further noted that Sir Satyrane's method of capturing the beast may also owe something to Pliny. Satyrane captures the animal by tying Florimell's girdle around it.[2] Pliny reports that one method of capturing the hyena is for the hunter to tie seven knots in his girdle.

> ... facilius autem capi, si cinctus suos venator flagellumque inperitans equo ... septenis alligaverit nodis.
>
> Natural History, XXVIII.xxvii

Thus the witch sends after the chaste Florimell an animal associated with magically obtaining the love of women. This would explain the mysterious description of the beast "That feeds on womens flesh, as others feede on gras".[3] Satyrane's capture of the magical (and diabolical) animal with the chaste Florimell's girdle again signifies the supremacy of pure and virtuous love over magic.

To console her son the witch makes a counterfeit Florimell. Significantly one of the ingredients is

---

1. De Praestigiis, II.lii, p.360.
2. FQ, III.vii.36.
3. ibid., III.vii.22.

virgin wax, the material from which images were made in love magic.[1] Christian demonology is clearly in evidence when Spenser says that the spirit introduced into the snow-image to animate it is one of the spirits that fell with Lucifer.[2] The witch's son is consoled, more than that he is "Extremely joyed" with the magically-produced False Florimell. The indication is that the witch's son, whom we have seen motivated by "affection bace", is pleased with a magical imitation "Enough to hold a foole in vaine delight".[3] The incident emphasises the nobility of virtuous love and suggests the worthlessness and vanity of anything produced by magic.

The final incident having reference to amatory magic is the encounter of Britomart with Busirane. Her chastity enables her to pass through the magical flames encompassing the enchanter's castle.[4] She sees the idolatrous statue to the "Victor of the Gods".[5] Both the storm and the sulphurous stench preceding the Masque of Cupid[6] subtly suggest diabolic operations. Britomart sees Amoret in the Masque of Cupid with her heart transfixed in a silver basin. As well as being a reference to Cupid's dart, I would suggest that this detail is another reference to magical techniques.[7] When Britomart finally finds Amoret, she is bound to a brazen pillar, and again in Busirane's writing of

---

1. Lyly mentions an image of virgin wax. Euphues and his England, p.119, line 30. This was noted above as a borrowing from Wier. See also Grillandus, De Sortilegis, quaestio 3, numerus 15, p.27, and Scot, Discoverie, XII.xvi. The locus classicus for melting a wax image to produce love is of course Virgil, Eclogues, VIII.
2. FQ, III.viii.8.
3. ibid., III.viii.10.
4. ibid., III.xi.25.
5. ibid., III.xi.49.
6. ibid., III.xii. 2-3.
7. Scot mentions a wax heart transfixed with needles, Discoverie, XII.xvi.

strange characters in blood we can detect allusions to magical operation.[1] But all the enchanter's essays on Amoret's virtuous affections are unsuccessful.

> A thousand charmes he formerly did prove;
> Yet thousand charmes could not her stedfast heart remove.
> III.xii.31

In having Busirane reverse his charms, thus removing Amoret's torments, Spenser was probably thinking of Circe.[2] Thus at three points in Book III we see demonstrated the inefficacy of amatory magic and a consequent enhancement of the noble and virtuous passion which the book celebrates.

In the seventeenth century we find that the same assumption still holds good. In Othello Brabantio believes that Desdemona's affections have been won by diabolic means. There are, I think, two ideas of the diabolic Moor offered in the play. One is that he is the devil. Iago tells Brabantio "the devil will make a grandsire of you".[3] It has been noted in Part I of this study that Margaret Johnson was to state in 1633 that Mamillion, her devil, appeared to her as a man all in black. The appearance of the devil as a blackamore is mentioned in at least two treatises in English. Lavater tells of a cheating Dominican pretending to be the devil who appeared as a "Negro or black Morian".[4] Scot, quoting from Bodin, says that the French author sometimes relates the appearance of the devil in "the shape of a blacke Moore".[5]

---

1. Grillandus mentions the use of blood from the ring-finger to write on an unconsecrated Host in a description of amatory magic. De Sortilegis, quaestio 3, numerus 19, p.30. In a conjuration to gain the love of a man or woman, the magician writes his own name, that of the woman and those of three demons, with blood from the left hand on virgin parchment. Sloane Ms. 3851, f.59.
2. Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIV. 300-301.
3. Othello, I.i.92.
4. Of Ghostes, I.vii, p.29.
5. Discoverie, V.i, p.89. It is worth noting that "blacke Moore" is Scot's rendering of these descriptions in Bodin, "Bien souvent aussi Satan se monstre en figure humaine, grand et noir, ..." and "grand homme fort noir, & vestu tout de noir, ..." Demonomanie II.vi, f.95v. It may also be noted that Scot's reference occurs in Book V, a section Bullough claims influenced A Midsummer Night's Dream and which I have suggested influenced The Comedy of Errors.

Brabantio is astonished at his daughter's inexplicable misaffection for the Moor. He turns in desperation to the only reasonable answer, bewitchment. It was noted above that the love-potion in The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll could be seen as the instrument of an attempted liaison between persons of disparate social standing. Similarly, Brabantio's reaction is to seek in magic the answer for the love of a daughter, who had rejected the "wealthy . . . curled darlings of our nation", for a Moor. He turns to Roderigo,

> Is there not charms
> By which the property of youth and maidhood
> May be abus'd? Have you not read, Roderigo,
> Of some such thing?
> Othello, I.i.172-175

The familiar proposition is again raised. Can magic affect the emotions? Again it is interesting to note that a play in fact contains a debate (the arraignment of Othello, accused by Brabantio, before the Duke) where the proposition is rebutted.[1] The implication is that the affection of Desdemona for Othello is magically-produced and monstrous. The rejection of this idea is the scene before the Duke asserts the nobility of the alliance.

Brabantio obviously suspects the use of a philtre, as he mentions "drugs or minerals" and "spells and medicines".[2] Most interesting are his lines

> I therefore vouch again
> That with some mixtures powerful o'er the blood,
> Or with some dram conjur'd to this effect,
> He wrought upon her.
> I.iii.103-106

These lines suggest that Shakespeare knew of the theoretical distinctions made in discussions of love-potions. The phrase "some dram conjur'd to this effect"[3] refers to questions as to whether the virtue

---

1. One is often struck by the fact that the rejection by these plays of the idea that magic can affect the emotions is reminiscent of a scholastic quaestio whose proposition is denied.
2. Othello, I.ii.74, I.iii.61.
3. The Arden editor notes that "conjur'd" is not used elsewhere by Shakespeare with the sense of "made powerful by spells".

(if any) of love-potions was resident in the conu jurations said over the ingredients rather than in the herbs themselves.

Othello admits to "witchcraft" inherent in the course of his gaining of the affections of Desdemona. His "witchcraft" was the relation of tales of his adventures. He had courted her by telling stories. Othello's answer is in line with the advice of Psellus in Euphues and his England. As for the Moor's statement "This only is the witchcraft I have us'd",[1] Psellus relates the story of Olympias' interview with the girl of whom Philip of Macedon was enamoured, and the queen's comments on the girl's virtues, "... in thy selfe there are charmes".[2] Psellus went on to give advice that the best enchantments were the arts of courtship and that the lover should temper his words and place his sentences wisely.[3] Othello's answer at once rejects the power of magic to cause love and enhances his account of his proper and courteous wooing of Desdemona.

A discussion of the possible potency of herbs and charms to cause love provoked by a similar fear, that a person of some social standing has formed a misalliance, occurs in The Duchess of Malfi. Bosola, reporting on the Duchess to Ferdinand, suggests that sorcery has made her fall in love with "some desertless fellow". Ferdinand is sceptical of the proposition.

---

1. Othello, I.iii.169.
2. Euphues and his England, p.118, line 19. Bullough, Narrative and Dramatic Sources, Vol. VII, p.211 notes that E.H.W. Meyerstein in a letter to the TLS, 1942, p.72, drew attention to the fact that Othello's defence echoed a story in Pliny. C.Furius Cressus was accused of amassing wealth by sorcery. He produced his plough and strapping daughter and said that these were the only charms and sorceries he had used. There are verbal echoes of Holland's translation of Pliny's story in Othello. The tale provided by Lyly offers no close verbal parallels, but the spirit and context of the story are the same as those in Othello.
3. Euphues and his England, p.119.

> Away, these are mere gulleries, horrid things
> Invented by some cheating mountebanks
> To abuse us: - do you think that herbs or charms
> Can force the will? Some trials have been made
> In this foolish practice; but the ingredients
> Were lenitive poisons, such as are of force
> To make the patient mad;
> The Duchess of Malfi, III.i.70-76

As the context is the same, one may justly suspect an echo of Othello in the references to the potions of "cheating mountebanks". Brabantio feared that Desdemona had been corrupted "By spells and medicines bought of mountebanks".[1] The combination of scepticism with the belief that philtres may drive the drinker mad points to the tradition of Wieran skepticism available in both Euphues and his England and Scot, Discoverie, VI.vi-vii.

A final small detail in the context of undesirable matches and amatory magic is Polixenes' reaction in The Winter's Tale to Florizel's love for a shepherd's daughter (Perdita). He threatens her,

> And thou, fresh piece
> Of excellent witchcraft, who of force must know
> The royal fool thou cop'st with - ...
> I'll have thy beauty scratch'd with briars and made
> More homely than thy state.
> The Winter's Tale, IV.iv.414-418

The reference to Perdita's beauty as witchcraft is taken up a few lines later by Polixenes, "And you, enchantment".[2] Polixenes has recourse to the idea of witchcraft as an explanation for the inexplicable. I believe that in his threat to scratch Perdita's face with briars, Polixenes is not simply thinking of spoiling her beauty, but of removing her enchantment of his son by drawing blood on the face of a witch.[3] That Shakespeare was familiar with the idea of scratching

---

1. Othello, I.iii.61.
2. The Winter's Tale, IV.iv.426.
3. This interpretation takes account of the fact that of course Shakespeare can refer to scratching faces (e.g. Troilus and Cressida, IV.ii.106) and pricking briars (e.g. Coriolanus, III.iii.51) without intending any magical allusion.

witches we know on the evidence of a line in I Henry VI.[1] As Perdita's "enchantment" is her beauty, scratching Perdita's face with briars would destroy the "enchantment" both literally and metaphorically.[2]

In Marston's Sophonisba Syphax's base advances are rejected by the virtuous and chaste Sophonisba. In desperation Syphax visits the witch Erictho who promises a charm to win Sophonisba which Jove dare not hear twice. However the witch gives him a warning that "Love is the highest rebel to our art",[3] and instructs him to bring no light to the bed where he is to enjoy Sophonisba. Act V opens with the triumphant cacklings of the witch who, disguised as Sophonisba, has tricked Syphax into spending the night with her. Erictho in triumph tells Syphax,

> Why! fool of kings, could thy weak soul imagine
> That 'tis within the grasp of heaven or hell
> To enforce love? Why, love dotes the fates,
> Jove groans beneath his weight:
> Sophonisba, V.i.6-9

Even Erictho, whom we have heard in Act IV boast of her power to control the elements and terrify the king of flames, had to employ a trick in order to satisfy

---

1. Talbot threatens Joan, "Blood will I draw on thee - thou art a witch - ". I Henry VI, I.v.6. See also the note to this line in the Arden edition. I also suspect an allusion to scratching in The Comedy of Errors. A Messenger informs Adriana that her (supposed) husband "cries for you and vows, if he can take you, / To scorch your face, and to disfigure you". The Comedy of Errors, V.i.181-182. The Arden editor glosses "scorch" as "cut or gash". The Syracusans are by this time convinced the Ephesians are witches.
2. References to scratching witches in attempts to remove their curses in treatises and trial-accounts are too numerous to warrant detailed documentation. Gifford mentions the practice, Dialogue, Bv, B2v. A reference in a trial-account may be found in A True and just Recorde, C3. There is an early seventeenth century instance of scratching with briars. Joan Guppie complained that two sisters and their brother "did with pynnes pricke her and thruste them into her bodye and legges and took great overgrowne brambles and drewe them athwarte her face, etc., and did therwith rente and teare the fleshe from her face". Ewen, Witchcraft in the Star Chamber, p.25.
3. Sophonisba, IV.i.171.

her desire to sleep with Syphax.

> And dost thou think, if philters or hell-charms
> Could have enforced thy use, we would have deigned
> Brain-sleights?
> Sophonisba, V.i.18-20

Now this confession of Erictho's of the immunity of love from magic is clean contrary to what Lucan has to say in his account of the Thessalian witches in De Bello Civili, VI, from which Marston borrowed all his material for the depiction of Erictho. Lucan says that by the spells of the witches of Thessaly love steals into men's hearts and old age burns with passion. Not only can their philtres cause love, but the witches can destroy the mind with their incantations. Two people who hold no attraction for each other are compelled by the twirling of the twisted thread.[1]

The play clearly intends to show that Syphax's night with the witch Erictho is the just desert of a man who attempts to force the noble and virtuous Sophonisba. Erictho points the moral in her parting words, "Know he that would force love, thus seeks his hell".[2] Syphax's attempt to force Sophonisba by magic parallels his base and indeed bestial lusts. He had even threatened Sophonisba with necrophilia if she committed suicide.[3] His punishment is unwittingly to suffer the embraces of a witch whose magical practices themselves suggest analogous sexual deviations.[4]

In the case of Middleton's The Witch the situation is not so simple, in fact for a moment in the play a love-charm, that given by Hecate to Almachildes, has an effect, in that it softens

---

1. De Bello Civili, VI.452-460.
2. Sophonisba, V.i.23.
3. ibid., IV.i.58-62.
4. See the erotic colouring given by Marston to Erictho's communications with the underworld by means of a corpse. Sophonisba, IV.i.119-121.

Amoretta's heart towards her suitor. Generally the magical material in the play reflects the entanglements of the relationships in the main plots.

The play quickly reveals that the proper and decent relationships between the sexes are in confusion. Sebastian returns from the wars to find that Isabella, to whom he was betrothed, has married Antonio. This previous betrothal is given a moral importance in the play. Sebastian plainly regards it as an agreement made in the sight of Heaven,[1] and this idea is developed at length when Sebastian argues that the agreement was sacred and celestial. Although admitting the honours and dignities of a formal marriage, he claims that the agreement of two souls is the essential union.[2] Antonio's self-recrimination that he falsely wedded Isabella because he told her that Sebastian was dead, and his admission of Sebastian's prior claim, "he that was her Husband first, by Contract",[3] buttresses the play's affirmation of the justice of Sebastian's claim on Isabella. Antonio's claim, on the other hand, is instantly weakened in the eyes of an audience when we meet Florida, the Courtesan he had kept. Gaspero reassures her that Antonio will still need her services, for one woman will not satisfy his sexual appetites for long.[4] However it is suggested that even the grief of the Courtesan for a lost lover is not all it might seem, for she keeps twenty-one "In-mates". Amoretta repulses the advances of Almachildes. At the marriage-feast the Duke forces his wife to drink from the skull of her dead father.[5] Francisca, Antonio's sister, is unmarried and pregnant.[6] Thus all the personal relationships in I.i are disordered.

---

1. The Witch, I.i.4-5.
2. ibid., IV.ii.1492ff.
3. ibid., V.i.1834.
4. ibid., I.i.65-70.
5. ibid., I.i.131ff.
6. ibid., I.i.162-165.

Almachildes' decision to visit the witches for a love-charm prepares us for I.ii.

The details of the witchcraft in this scene have been noted as borrowings from the Discoverie and W.W.'s A True and just Recorde. They reflect the disorder and chaos in the relationships between the sexes in I.i. Hecate's account of the mid-air amorous frolickings of the witches, feasting, singing and dancing, and kissing, provides an ironic parallel to the scene we have just observed, - a marriage-feast attended by guests whose relationships are in considerable disorder. Even the detail of the unbaptized infant, one of the ingredients of the flying-ointment,[1] may be seen as an echo of Francisca's unwanted pregnancy. The witches have their own perverse means of sexual fulfilment, the incubus. With the aid of one of these demons Stadlin has debauched by proxy a boy of seventeen.[2] Simulated sexual satisfaction, sterility and interference with natural processes are the dominant themes of the magical details provided. Firestone's request for a nocturnal expedition with the nightmare leads to a revelation from his mother of their incestuous relationship.

Sebastian approaches the witches knowing that he is offending against religion,[3] but pleads "extreemes / of wrongs in love". We are some distance away from the Lyly tradition at this point, for such a request would have been regarded by Psellus as reflecting unfavourably on the quality of love which prompted such an expedition. Hecate with her preternatural knowledge guesses Sebastian's quest, the hindrance of generation. Sebastian hopes for the complete separation of Antonio and Isabella, but Hecate informs him that witchcraft cannot annihilate the sacred bond of marriage,

---

1. The Witch, I.ii.201.
2. ibid., I.ii.217-219.
3. ibid., I.ii.304.

although it can put strains on it. Although I can find no support for this view in Scot, who of course thinks that tales of incubi and ligatures are vanities, Continental authorities single out the marriage-bond as an object of special attack by the devil.[1] Sebastian is content with the promise of the innibition of Antonio's virility and departs with the fervent wish that he may never see the hag again.[2]

It may be suggested that the play, although allowing magic some power over the perverse and vicious relationships depicted, shies away from a confrontation between the powers of magic and an enduring and noble affection. Magic is never given a chance to interfere with the devotion of Sebastian to Isabella. We do not even know if the effect of the love-charm would have been permanent on Amoretta, as it falls out of her bosom and she reverts to her old animosity towards Almachildes. Such magic as is effective in the play, the hindering of the consummation of the marriage of Antonio to Isabella, presumably means that she is still a virgin and can thus properly consummate her betrothal and subsequent marriage to Sebastian. In this way magic does not interfere with the one virtuous attachment in the play. Although the proposition would not stand up to close theological scrutiny, it may be suggested that such

---

1. Especially interesting are the views of Bodin. Ligatures may hinder copulation with one particular person. They are practised against married men and women so that as a result they commit adultery. The devil interferes with the conjugal relations of the married because he wants to exterminate the human race, because he wants to hinder the holy bond of matrimony, and because he wants to encourage fornication and adultery. *Démonomanie*, II.i, ff. 57v-58, 59v. Although I am not suggesting that Middleton had read Bodin, it is worth noting that the ligature does prevent Antonio consummating his marriage with Isabella (II.i.1ff.). As a result he turns to the embraces of Florida with whom he is potent (III.ii.1058-1062).
2. The Witch, I.ii.375-378.

magic as allowed an effect in the play actually furthers the cause of a true and virtuous attachment.

Thus in a whole series of plays and in what may be considered a long narrative poem, The Faerie Queene, Book III, we find that the idea that amatory magic can produce an effect is decisively rejected. This rejection in some cases is in spite of the fact that sources from which the writers borrowed magical details state that witchcraft can cause love, or at least passion. The dramatists refuse to allow the possible production of love by magic to be one of the laws operative in their imaginary world. This rejection I have suggested to have been initiated by the enormously influential Euphues and his England which assimilated Wieran scepticism into its codes of romantic love. Echoes of its ideas and their expression have been noted in plays of the late sixteenth century. I believe that the impetus of the popularity of Lyly's work carried the idea over into the early seventeenth century. The discussion of Psellus and Philautus ensured that almost every time the quaestio was raised in the drama its proposition was rejected. An attempt will now be made to examine the metaphorical and allusive use of magical ideas in other plays and poems of the period according to the scheme set out at the beginning of this chapter.

A small group of poems describes the attempts of poets to win the love of the mistress as magical operations. These may be divided into two groups; poems which describe magical techniques and those which attempt to use the magical power of words. The first group is mainly indebted to the precedent in Virgil, Eclogues, VIII for its details, and the second describes the verbal approach to the mistress as a conjuration.

It was noted in the section on classical sources that Campion's lute-song, "Thrice tosse these Oaken ashes" took its magical details from Virgil's eighth Eclogue. At the end of the first stanza the poem is already expressing doubt as to whether the magical techniques described will be effective. The murmured charm is "And murmur soft, shee will or shee will not".[1] The poem having gone through all the paraphernalia of magical allusions admits, in a graceful aside to the mistress,

> In vaine are all the charmes I can devise:
> She hath an Arte to breake them with her eyes.
> Campion, Poems, p.154

The implication is that the mistress has a magic more powerful than that of the poet, and the significance of the power of her eyes will emerge more clearly in the context of the discussion below.

In the other imitation of the Virgilian Eclogue, Barnes' Sestine V, the magic appears to have been more successful. Parthenope is brought on the back of a goat in response to conjurations. In contrast to the delicate, restrained and complimentary use of Virgilian details in the Campion lute-song, Barnes has incorporated them into a strange, almost delirious poem. The nihilistic cries of the despairing Damon[2] become the ecstatic cries of triumph of the poet as he reaches the consummation of his desires.[3] The reader receives the impression that the magical rites do as much to excite the cravings of the poet as they do to effect the appearance of Parthenope. The details of Ovidian and Virgilian magical techniques become expressions of the magician's feverish lust. Medea's sober and ritualistic cutting of her herbs with a brazen sickle[4] bedomes

---

1. With this compare the hint of doubt as to whether the magic will work in the penultimate line of the Virgilian Eclogue, "credimus? an qui amant ipsi somnia fingunt?".
2. Eclogues, VIII.52ff.
3. Poems, ed. Grosart, pp.145-146.
4. Metamorphoses, VII.227.

> This Rosemariene (whose braunche she cheefely bare
> And loved best) I cut both barke and woode,
> Broke with this brasen Axe, and in loves furies
> I treade on it, rejoycing in this night:
> And saying, let her feele such woundes this night.
> Poems, ed. Grosart, pp.143-144

The magical fire in Eclogues, VIII flares up giving Alphesiboeus hope that his magic has been successful.[1] In Barnes' poem we can see the ecstatic physical satisfaction of the poet's longings in the rising and falling of the flames.[2] Barnes' poem, with its implication that the goat transporting Parthenope may be a demon sent to accomplish the magician's desires, is in fact much closer to the tone of amatory conjurations, which make no pretence about the fact that they are intended to bring about the satisfaction of the cravings of the flesh, than the delicate lute-song of Campion.[3]

Donne's poem Witchcraft by a picture[4] rings the changes on the use of allusions to image-magic in a love poem. With his usual interest in optics and reflections, Donne has turned the magical image possessed by the mistress-witch into two reflections, one in the mistress's eye and the other in a tear on her cheek. As the mistress has "made" an image of the lover, he is potentially in her power. However the lover "destroys" the images in tear and eye, the first by drinking it, the second by leaving. He now feels safe for the magical images have been destroyed. One image remains, that now implanted in the beloved's heart. Here it is free from "malice", the emotion often thought to motivate

---

1. Eclogues, VIII.105-106.
2. Poems, p.146.
3. The conjuration "For the accomplishment of the pleasure of the flesh" commands the spirit to make haste to the woman "And that you make hir so to burne in my love that neither sleping nor waking &c Shee may be at rast untill I obtain what I desier of nir and do performe my will with hir.". Sloane Ms. 3851, f.58v.
4. The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets, ed. Helen Gardner, p.37.

the actions of the witch.[1] The lover is safe from magic. In fact, I would suggest, he has been successful in completing a magical operation of his own. In the first line of the poem he declares "I fixe mine eye on thine", and in the last two lines he is confident that his "image" is now in the mistress's heart. He has in fact effected a <u>fascinatio</u> on her. The poet's image has been impressed on the eyes of the mistress and has been thence impressed on her heart. With this compare Agrippa's definition.

> Fascination is a binding, which comes from the spirit of the Witch, through the eyes of him that is bewitched, entering to his heart.
> <u>Three Books of Occult Philosophy</u>, I.i, p.101

Fascination as a topic in its own right will be examined briefly below.

Three poems, by Robert Jones, Drayton and Herrick, try the power of words to gain the love of the mistress. A lute-song by Robert Jones compares in the first stanza the attempt to "charm" the mistress with a magician's attempt to charm a serpent.[2]

> To the deafe Aspe with dying voice,
> Sadly I sing this heavie charme,
> That if thy heart doe ere rejoyce,
> And set at nought my grievous harme,[3]
> This verse writ with a dead mans arme
> May haunt thy senselesse eyes and eares,
> Turne joyes to Cares, and hopes to feares.
> <u>The Muses Gardin for Delights</u> (1610), No. XVIII, sig. Fv

The beginning of the poem admits the poet's pessimism and implicit acceptance of defeat. Asps are deaf to the charms of the magician on the evidence of Psalm

---

1. King James says that one of the motivations of witches is the "satisfying of their cruell mindes". <u>Daemonologie</u>, II.iii, p.35.
2. On magical attempts to charm serpents see Scot, <u>Discoverie</u>, XII.xv.
3. The meaning of "a dead mans arme" is partly metaphorical, - the lover is almost dead through love. In the magical context of the poem it also alludes to the use of parts of the human body in witchcraft. Cf.
   "What witchcraft doth he practise that he hath left
   A dead man's hand here?"
   <u>The Duchess of Malfi</u>, IV.i.54-55

LVIII.[1] Part of the "charm" is the music of the accompaniment to the song, but the words are equally important, for it was by the power of words that magicians charmed serpents. Snake-charming often has a place in arguments as to whether words have an efficacy of their own in magic.[2]

The lover continues to prove the efficacy of the power of words in the second stanza when he conjures the mistress at least to think of him.

> By thy Creators pietie,
> By her that brought thee to this light,
> By thy deare Nurses love to thee,
> By Love it selfe, Heavens, Day and Night,

This list of adjurations may be compared with the catalogue of Divine Names and attributes in adjuration to demons.[3] After a brief recovery of hope in the middle of the last stanza, the lover realises that his magic will not work. The asp stops its ear against the charmer,[4] the mistress is unmoved.

> No, no, thou canst not pitie me,
> Aspes cannot heare, nor live can I,
> Thou nearest not, unheard I die.

An earlier and similarly despairing reference to the mistress as the deaf asp who will not hear, occurs in a sonnet by Richard Lynche.[5]

---

1. "Their poison is like the poison of a serpent: they are like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear; Which will not hearken to the voice of charmers, charming never so wisely". AV, Psalm XVIII.iv-v.
2. William Perkins concludes that words do not have the power to charm serpents, but the devil effects the operation because of the understanding he has with the charmer. Discourse, IV.i, pp.143-144. Thomas Cooper comes to the same conclusion. Mystery of Witch-craft, I.ix, p.164.
3. Adjurations to demons by the properties of the Godhead are very common. A conjuration compelling a demon to obtain the love of a woman commands it by the virtues of Christ and by God's love. Sloane Ms. 3851, f.60.
4. One frequently mentioned version of the serpent's technique of stopping its ear bears witness to the reptile's ingenuity, for it does it by "stopping one eare with his taile, and laieng the other close to the ground". Scot [citing Tremelius], Discoverie, XII.xv, p.252.
5. Diella (1594) (Poems, ed. Grosart), Sonnet VI.

Thomas Campion, again in the context of a lute-song, considers enchanting the mistress, but recognises that the attempt would be unlawful and that such love would not be worth the having, "love enforc'd rarely yeelds firme content".[1] This may be compared with the failure of the charms in Thrice tosse these Oaken ashes.

In Herrick's A Conjuration, to Electra, we again have a list of adjurations to the beloved. I can find nothing specifically magical in the invocations by "Tods of wooll", the colours of the sky and so on of the first eight lines. However, in the next six lines Herrick seems to be alluding to the magical practices of Medea. "By silent Nights" may be compared with Medea's invocation to the Night,[2] and Medea also invokes three-formed Hecate.[3] The adjuration by the astrologically propitious times in which a sorceress mixes her potions[4] may be compared with Anna's herb-gathering in Aeneid, IV. The poem ends with a graceful compliment; the most powerful adjuration is Electra herself.

Drayton's poem, Idea, 36,[5] has the marginal title "Cupid conjured". It differs from the previous poems in that it is Cupid who is conjured, not the mistress. He is adjured as a recalcitrant spirit who may be commanded to accomplish a magician's desires. Instead of the names and attributes of God and the celestial powers we find in the conjurations of demons, Cupid is commanded by a series of allusions to classical myth, - the Styx, Venus, Hecate, Proserpine and Psyche. "By HECAT'S Names"[6] comes close to the invocation of various Divine Names in Christian magical operation. True to the tone of

---

1. Works, ed. Davis, p.178.
2. Poems, ed. L.C. Martin, pp.257-258, Conjuration to Electra, line 9. Ovid, Metamorphoses, VII.192.
3. Conjuration to Electra, line 10. Metamorphoses, VII.194.
4. Conjuration to Electra, lines 11-14.
5. Works, Vol. II, p.328.
6. Idea 36, 7.

imprecations of eternal damnation to troublesome spirits,[1] Drayton threatens,

> I conjure thee by all that I have nam'd
> To make her love, or CUPID be thou damn'd.
> Idea 36, 13-14

A song in The Merchant of Venice proclaims that fancy is "engend'red in the eyes".[2] One of the conventions of Petrarchan poetry is that the sight of the mistress is received by the eyes and the impression is made on the lover's heart. We find that the same analysis is given of the operation of fascination. Agrippa describes the process whereby vapour is generated by pure blood, sent out through the eyes, infects the eye of the beholder and wounds the heart. Conversely, it is striking how close Agrippa's account comes to the language of love, with the lover suffering from Cupid's darts.

> So the eye being opened, and intent upon any one with a strong imagination, doth dart its beams, which are the Vehiculum of the spirit into the eyes of him that is opposite to him, which tender spirit strikes the eyes of him that is bewitched, being stirred up from the heart of him that strikes, and possesseth the breast of him that is stricken, wounds his heart, and infects his spirit.
> Three Books of Occult Philosophy, I.1

Agrippa in the same chapter quotes a passage from Lucretius about the wounding darts of Cupid as an authority for the efficacy of fascination.[3]

Sidney uses the Petrarchan convention of the wounding power of the eyes of the mistress without any magical overtones, as of course did many other

---

1. See a threat in a conjuration given by Scot to condemn a spirit to everlasting pain, "I charge thee upon paine of everlasting condemnation". Discoverie, XV.viii, p.403.
2. The Merchant of Venice, III.ii.67.
3. Scot gives the same quotation in the same context. Discoverie, XVI.x. Fascination is one of the few abilities ascribed to witches which Scot is half-willing to accept. Discoverie, XVI.viii.

poets. Here is an example from the Arcadia.

> In vaine, mine Eyes, you labour to amende
> With flowing teares your fault of hasty sight:
> Since to my heart her shape you so did sende;
> Poems, ed. Ringler, p.38

However in another poem from the Arcadia, Sidney can be seen moving closer to the idea of fascination.

> Beautie hath force to catche the humane sight.
> Sight doth bewitch, the fancie evill awaked.
> ibid., p.82

Wounding eyes are one of the attributes of the cruel mistress in Petrarchan conventions. Similarly, in witchcraft treatises, fascination is almost universally thought to be an attribute of women. Scot quotes from an extended Continental account of fascination, the De Fascino of Leonardus Vairus, an explanation of why this is so. Women have

> such an unbrideled force of furie and concupiscence naturallie, that by no meanes it is possible for them to temper the same.
> Discoverie, XII.xx, p.278

Fascination may be seen as a female magical ability as opposed to the ritual magic and conjuring which have just been observed in poems written in the personae of the poet approaching the mistress. In the employment of the two genres of magical operation we may detect the appropriateness of their use. The poet's words have as correlatives Virgilian magical techniques from an eclogue which declares "carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam", and the words of power used in ceremonial magic, seemingly the preserve of the male operator. The mistress, on the other hand, is accredited with the powers of a fascinator, and fascination was considered to be especially associated with the nature of women.

Barnabe Barnes in Elegie VIII complains of the sufferings of love. What else could cause such torments but witchcraft?

And with her eyes she did bewitche mine hart,
Which lettes it live, but feele an endlesse smart.
Poems, ed. Grosart, p.82

Drayton takes up the analagous ideas of love and fascination and pursues them further. The power of the eyes of the mistress is compared to the venomous glance of the cockatrice.

The Basiliske his nature takes from thee,
Who for my life in secrete waite doth lye.
And to my hart send'st poyson from thine eye
Thus do I feele the paine, the cause, yet cannot see.
Ideas Mirror, Amour 30
(Works, Vol. I, p.113)

The cockatrice was often mentioned in discussions of fascination as it provided a supporting instance from "natural history" of eye-beams producing an external effect.[1]

Ovid in Chapman's Ovids Banquet of Sence is pierced by the sight of Corinna.[2] He later compares the effect of this to witchcraft. For once the mistress is exonerated. Since Corinna is all honour, Ovid chivalrously concludes that he must have bewitched himself.

Tis I (alas) and my hart-burning Eye
Does all the harme, and feele the harme wee doo:
I am no Basiliske, yet harmles I
Poyson with sight, and mine own bosome too;
So am I to my selfe a Sorceresse
Bewitcht with my conceites in her I woo:
But you unwrongd, and all dishonorlesse
No ill dares touch, affliction, sorcerie,
One kisse of yours can quickly remedie.
Ovids Banquet of Sence
(Poems, ed. Bartlett), stanza 81

One of the features of the language of Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream is the large number of references to "eyes" in the play. Shakespeare is obviously using the convention that it is through the eyes that love enters the heart. Hermia

1. Scot mentions the cockatrice in this context. Discoverie, XVI.ix, p.486. Perkins, just as he rejected the possibility of fascination, also rejected the evidence of the basilisk. It is not credible that such things may be effected through the power of the eyes. Discourse, IV.i, pp.142-143.
2. Ovids Banquet of Sence (Poems, ed. Bartlett), stanza 49.

wishes her father could see Lysander with her eyes.[1] Her eyes are the lodestars that draw Demetrius.[2] At one point it is even possible to detect an allusion to the power of Hermia's eyes as fascinating. Helena begs,

> O, teach me how you look, and with what art
> You sway the motion of Demetrius' heart!
> A Midsummer Night's Dream, I.i.192-193

The word "look" here probably has the meaning "cast a glance", and Agrippa for one refers to fascination as an "Art".[3] Demetrius dotes on Hermia's eyes, and Helena at one point threatens to scratch them out.[4] The list of references could be greatly extended. It is in this context of the power of a woman's eyes in love, and the available idea that their effect is similar to fascination, that the potency of the juice of the little wayside flower should be seen. Technically the charm is a collyrium, a magical eye-ointment. Agrippa mentions the collyrium in his chapter on fascination and says that witches who fascinate use a venereal collyrium to procure love.[5] In another chapter he says that it enables the visual spirits to affect the imagination more easily.[6] In A Midsummer Night's Dream, when Demetrius awakes with the magical juice on his eyes, it is the eyes of Helena he apostrophises.

> O Helen, goddess, nymph, perfect, divine!
> To what, my love, shall I compare thine eyne?
> A Midsummer Night's Dream, III.ii.137-138

Puck, in applying the remedy to Lysander's eyes, refers in the verses he speaks over the sleeping lover to the fact that his eyes should now return to their natural state of responsiveness to Hermia's eyes.

---

1. A Midsummer Night's Dream, I.i.56.
2. ibid., I.i.183.
3. Agrippa regards fascination as a magical art. His chapter on fascination has the heading "De fascinatione atque eius artificio". De Occulta, I.l.
4. A Midsummer Night's Dream, III.ii.298.
5. De Occulta, I.l.
6. ibid., I.xlv.

When thou wak'st,
Thou tak'st
True delight
In the sight
Of thy former lady's eye;
A Midsummer Night's Dream,
III.ii.453-457

Finally, one small detail on the magical powers of the eyes in the play deserves annotation. Hermia, still coping with the problem of awakening from the dream of a midsummer's night, observes,

Methinks I see these things with parted eye,
When every thing seems double.
IV.i.186-187

It is worth noting that one of the loci frequently cited in connection with fascination, and one first mentioned by Pliny, is that of the women of Bithiae, who fascinate by means of a double-eyeball or double-pupil.[1]

The figure of Circe cannot strictly be regarded as being associated with the topic of love and magic. It was noted in the section on classical sources that Circe had the allegorical significance of the degrading effects of love and excessive pleasure. It was also noted that the magical implications of "transformations" in the Circe story were suppressed in allegorical interpretation, and the word came to have a metaphorical meaning. It is with this metaphorical significance that Spenser used the story in The Faerie Queene, Book II and that Milton used it in Comus. The significance of Circe need not even have anything to do with lust. Humphrey Gifford uses an allusion to Circe in a poem entitled Of the Vanitie of this Life. Circe in Gifford's poem signifies the "alluring toyes" of the world.[2] This chapter's

---

1. Scot, Discoverie, XVI.ix; Wier, De Praestigiis, II.xlix, p.346.
2. Poems, ed. Grosart, Posie of Gilliflowers, pp.93-94.

attention to the Circe story will limit itself to the identification of a nexus of ideas associated with Circe and suggest their significance in Anthony and Cleopatra. Some poems will be used to demonstrate this nexus.

Thomas Howell in a poem, The best Natures, soonest abused,[1] says that just as the sailors who accompanied Ulysses were allured by the songs of the Sirens (who are the handmaids of Circe in mytho-graphical commentaries), so the minds of men have credited "toyes". The deaf adder makes another appearance, as the wise stop their ears against the charmer. The analogy is between Ulysses stopping his ears with wax against the songs of the Sirens and the adder stopping its ear against the charmer in Psalm LVIII.

The author of Willobie his Avisa uses the same parallel. The seducer's approach is repulsed by the virtuous Avisa who can now see why Christ advised us to be like serpents, for they stop their ears against the charmer. She then mentions Ulysses stopping his ears with wax.[2] Richard Lynche has the mistress rejecting the advances of the lover in these terms.

> my lookes (shee saith) are like the Crocadyles,
> My words the Syrens sing with guileful arte,
> teares, Cyrces flouds, sighes, vowes, deceitful guiles,
> Poems, ed. Grosart, p.17

Drayton in Peirs Gaveston has an entire nexus of allusions to the Sirens, Circe and the crocodile as symbols of pleasure.

> O Pleasure thou, the very lure of sinne,
> The roote of woe, our youthes deceitfull guide,
> A shop where all confected poysons been,
> The bayte of lust, the instrument of pride,
> Inchanting Circes, smoothing cover-guile,
> Aluring Siren, flattering Crockodile
> Peirs Gaveston, (Works, Vol. I), 319-324

---

1. Devises (Poems, ed. Grosart), pp.180-181.
2. Willobie his Avisa, ed. G.B. Harrison, p.40.

It is in this context of the association by poets of Circe, the Sirens and the crocodile as symbols of alluring pleasure that I would place a strand of ideas in Anthony and Cleopatra.

The detention of Anthony in Egypt by Cleopatra, estranged from first Fulvia and then Octavia, has obvious parallels with the detention of Ulysses by Circe on Aeaea, preventing his return to Penelope. I suggest that the play uses the idea of Circe as both a symbol of the depraving and enfeebling effects of pleasure, and also alludes to Circe's characteristics as a witch in some references to Cleopatra. There is little need to document in detail the fact that Egypt is the home of pleasure and sensual gratification in the play. References substantiating this idea may be found at I.i.46-47, I.iv.26 and II.iii.39-41. It is Anthony's indulgence in the pleasures of the East that causes the "dotage" that is mentioned in the first line of the play. Cleopatra is often referred to in the play as an enchantress. Anthony exclaims "I must from this enchanting queen break off".[1] Two lines of Pompey's,

> Salt Cleopatra, soften thy wan'd lip!
> Let witchcraft join with beauty, lust with both;
> II.i.21-22

give two facets of Circe's character, her witchcraft and her significance as lust and pleasure. In the description of the barge-journey down the Cydnus we are given a picture of the triumph of sensuality, and in this context the mermaids attending Cleopatra,[2] even though they are to be found in North's translation of Plutarch, may be seen as the Sirens who attend on Circe.[3] Anthony refers to Cleopatra as "this great fairy".[4] Titania, the great fairy of

---

1. Anthony and Cleopatra, I.ii.125.
2. ibid., II.ii.211.
3. Spenser, following Natalis Comes, depicts the Sirens who sing to Guyon as mermaids. The Faerie Queene, II.xii.30-32.
4. Anthony and Cleopatra, IV.viii.12.

A Midsummer Night's Dream, was one of the epithets of Circe.[1] I would not wish to pursue the association of serpents and crocodiles with Circe and the Sirens too far, but it is worth remarking that Cleopatra is described as a serpent of the Nile,[2] and that Lepidus has a digression on the crocodile.[3]

The allusions to Cleopatra as "enchanting" turn, in Anthony's defeat, to accusations that Cleopatra is a witch. She is twice referred to as a "charm"[4] and Anthony, on meeting Cleopatra after defeat in the sea-battle, cries "Ah, thou spell! Avaunt!"[5] In the context of the witchcraft allusions in IV.xii, it is possible to see Anthony's threat to Cleopatra,

> and let
> Patient Octavia plough thy visage up
> With her prepared nails.
> IV.xii.37-39

as another allusion to the practice of scratching witches, in the manner of those suggested above in The Winter's Tale and The Comedy of Errors. The wronged Octavia would remove the degrading amatory charm of Cleopatra by scratching her face. Later in the scene Anthony cries "The witch shall die".[6] In this scene the play, having used the allegorical significance of Circe, realises the implications of witchcraft latent in her character.

This examination of the topic of love and magic will conclude with an attempt to relate references in poetic and dramatic treatments of the relationships between the sexes to women as witches and demons, to a tradition of anti-feminism in the history and literature of witch-belief.

---

1. Ovid, Metamorphoses, XIV.382, 438.
2. Anthony and Cleopatra, I.v.25.
3. ibid., II.vii.
4. ibid., IV.xii.16, 25.
5. ibid., IV.xii.30.
6. ibid., IV.xii.47.

Russell notes that one of the ideas assimilated into the composite picture of the witch in the middle ages was that of the bloodsucking demon, the strigia or lamia.[1] The writers of the middle ages were also concerned to answer the question as to why there were more women addicted to witchcraft than men.[2] Thomas of Hales and Thomas Aquinas argued that the sex was more prone to witchcraft. The Malleus was in no doubt. There are three things which know no moderation in virtue or vice, and one of these is a woman. It quotes from John Chrysostom on the nature of women.

> What else is woman but a foe to friendship, an unescapable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic danger, a delectable detriment, an evil of nature, painted with fair colours!
> Malleus Maleficarum (Summers' translation), p.114

Although admitting that there are some holy women, and there is of course the outstanding exception of the Blessed Virgin, the Dominican manual holds a very low opinion of the sex. Women are credulous, so the devil can more easily corrupt their faith; they are more impressionable, and so subject to the influence of a disembodied spirit; they have slippery tongues. But then, the Malleus reflects, they are of course feeble in mind and body. The female sex is more carnal than the male, and also weaker in faith. The word feminus comes from fe minus, weaker in faith. One significant point is the emphasis on the sexual voraciousness of women. All witchcraft comes from carnal lust and this is insatiable in women, for the Book of Proverbs says that the mouth of the womb is never satisfied. There are seven ways in which witchcraft affects the venereal act. The whole section

---

1. Russell, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages, pp.59,62. Cf. the list of female spirits in Le Loyer's treatise. The Lamiae, according to Dion Chrysostom, are beautiful down to the navel, but have the feet of dragons. They allure men with their beauty and then suck their blood. The Italians call them Streghe, from Strix, a bird which sucks the blood of children in their cradles. Treatise of Specters, i. ff.15-16. This list must have been borrowed from Lavater, Of Ghostes, I.i, p.5.
2. Russell thinks that the citation of women for witchcraft became significantly greater than that for men in the fifteenth century. Witchcraft in the Middle Ages, p.279.

in the Malleus is followed by a discussion of the power of witchcraft to cause extraordinary love or hate.[1]

Although the Dominican authors of the Malleus are especially virulent in their expression of anti-feminism, the idea is not unique to them. Other Continental writers offer similar explanations for the preponderance of women as witches.[2] Nider in his Praeceptorium Divinae Legis (Basle, c.1470) says that the greater number of women witches is caused by the sex's credulity, its weakness and its slippery tongue.[3] Sylvester Prierias in the De Strigmagarum Daemonumque Mirandis (Rome, 1521) says that women invoke demons to satisfy their lust.[4] Arnaldo Albertini in De Agnoscendis Assertionibus (Palermo, 1553) claims that those chiefly involved in witchcraft are women and infirm men, and that the former become involved because of the weakness of their nature and their insatiable lust.[5]

Johann Wier, intent on shielding old women from their persecutors, still takes it for granted that women are deluded by the devil because of their simplicity. In commenting on the Hebrew word for witch, mechassepha, in the prohibition in Exodus XXII.xviii, Wier says that interpreters commenting on the feminine gender of the word say that it signifies the artlessness (genuinam simplicitatem) of women which makes them susceptible to the snares of the devil.[6] In the chapter "De feminei credulitate ac fragilitate" Wier says that the devil approaches the female sex because it is credulous, malicious

---

1. Malleus, Part I, quaestio 6.
2. Russell notes that patristic writings often refer to women as "janua diaboli". Witchcraft in the Middle Ages, p.283.
3. Lea, Materials, Vol. I, p.268.
4. ibid., Vol. I, p.358.
5. ibid., Vol. II, p.449.
6. De Praestigiis, II.i, p.118.

and cannot control its affections.[1]

England did not remain immune from these Continental ideas. Scot in his defence of poor, old, melancholy women, assumes that the female sex is more frail, more weak and more prone to melancholy than the male.[2] Scot interprets the word "venefica" as "poisoner" and then goes on to point out that women in all ages were considered to be the especial instruments of the devil. This was because women were the greatest poisoners.[3] Epistemon, the instructor in King James' Daemonologie, tells Philomathes that more women are given to witchcraft than men because they are more easily entrapped by the snares of the devil. The Serpent tempted Eve, "which makes him the homelier with that sexe sensine".[4] Alexander Roberts thinks the female sex "inclinable" to witchcraft.[5] The ratio of women witches to men is 100 to 1. The reasons for this are those mentioned in the Continental treatises, the credulity, curiosity and susceptibility of the sex. It has greater "facility to fall" and this is why the devil tempted Eve. It is implacable in hatred.[6] William Perkins has the same comment on the Hebrew word "meccashephah" as Wier. The devil has ever since the temptation of Eve resorted to that place where he finds the easiest entrance.[7]

This much has been said to indicate that there was a tradition which associated the practice of witchcraft with flaws in the character of the female sex. I do not suggest that the poems and plays to be examined are necessarily anti-feminist, but that they

---

1. De Praestigiis, II.xxiii.
2. Discoverie, II.xii, p.38.
3. ibid., VI.iii.
4. Daemonologie, II.v, pp.43-44.
5. Treatise, p.5.
6. ibid., pp.40-43.
7. Discourse, V, pp.168-169.

describe women as witches or demons and often allude to the diabolical nature of the sex. The difference of emphasis from poems in the recently foregoing discussion of love and magic may be compared to the difference in the modern senses of "charmer" and "witch". The last part of this chapter will examine plays and poems which show dissatisfaction with love and the relationship between the sexes. Many of them display a literary mood of disillusionment and even, in some cases, disgust.

Several references in the poems express disappointment with love by means of allusions to witchcraft. Nicholas Breton, in a poem in The Passionate Shepherd, takes up the darker side of the idea of fascination. Instead of playing in the Petrarchan context with such adjectives as "charming" and "bewitching" to qualify the mistress' eyes, Breton hints at infatuation as an aberration caused by magic. There is a suggestion that this infatuation is maleficium in that the poet has lost his reason.

> Faire faces are eyes' witches
> That but inchaunt the minde:
> The Passionate Shepherd, Sonet 9
> (Works, Vol. I, p.13)

Sidney, in a song in Astrophil and Stella, uses references to witchcraft in a poem in which disillusionment deepens into distrust. In the days of satisfied love the lover praised the mistress in his verse. One of the conceits he used may be seen as containing the seeds of his present disillusionment.

> I said, thou wert most sweet, sweet poison to my heart:
> Astrophil and Stella, Fift. song, 8

The magical implications of this "poison" are taken up a few lines later.

> But now that hope is lost, unkindnesse kils delight,
> Yet thought and speech do live, though metamorphosd quite:
> Astrophil and Stella, Fift. song, 13-14

The "sweet poison" may be seen as being potentially the noxious juice by which Circe transforms men. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the next line alludes to the abstraction for which Circe was an allegorical symbol.

> For rage now rules the reynes, which guided were
> by Pleasure.

The poet thinks of the mistress' faults whereas he had before thought only of praising her. After reflecting on his sorrows, the lover begins to berate Stella. She is a thief, murderess and tyrant. Below these categories of malefactors comes the accusation that Stella is a witch. The two penultimate stanzas run as follows.

> What, is not this enough? nay farre worse commeth here;
> A witch I say thou art, though thou so faire appeare;
> For I protest, my sight never thy face enjoyeth,
> But I in me am chang'd, I am alive and dead:
> My feete are turned to rootes, my hart becommeth lead,
> No witchcraft is so evill, as which man's mind
> destroyeth.
>
> Yet witches may repent, thou art far worse then they,
> Alas, that I am forst such evill of thee to say,
> I say thou art a Devill, though clothed in Angel's
> shining:
> For thy face tempts my soule to leave the heav'n for thee,
> And thy words of refuse, do powre even hell on mee:
> Who tempt, and tempted plague, as Devils in true defining.

The mistress is a witch in spite of her beauty.[1] There is a passing suggestion of the malefic ent power of fascination. The poem again takes up the references to the transforming power of witches in an allusion to the Ovidian story of the metamorphosis of Daphne. The transforming witchcraft is of the worst kind in this case as it destroys the mind.[2] Even the comparison with a witch does not do the mistress justice. Witches may

---

1. For the traditional ugliness of witches, see Scot, Discoverie, I.iii; Harsnet, Egregious Popish Impostures, xxi, p.136. Some trial accounts emphasise the ugliness of witches. Joan Flower's appearance produced grave suspicion that she was a witch. Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, C3. Anne Chattox was described as being old, withered and decrepit. Potts, Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster, D2.
2. Cf. the powers of the witches of Ephesus,
   "Dark-working sorcerers that change the mind,
   Soul-killing witches that deform the body,
   The Comedy of Errors, I.ii. 99-100.

repent; devils do not. The mistress appeared like a shining angel.[1] She is the janua diaboli, for she tempts. Like a true devil she both tempts and plagues.[2] In spite of this disillusionment the mistress is still beloved. The poem may be taken as a paradigm of some of the uses of magical references recently noted, - those to fascination and to Circe. In the poem's mood of disillusionment, the darker potentialities of these ideas are brought out and the nadir of magical references is reached when the poem refers to the mistress as a devil and the gateway to hell.

In one of Drayton's most famous poems, Idea, 20, the beauty of the mistress is a possessing spirit.

> An Evill spirit your beautie haunts Me still,
> Where with (alas) I have beene long possesst,
> Which ceaseth not to tempt Me to each Ill,
> Nor gives Me once, but one poor minutes rest:
> In Me it speakes, whether I Sleepe or Wake,
> And when by Meanes, to drive it out I try
> With greater Torments, then it Me doth take,
> And tortures Me in most extremity;
> Before my Face, it layes downe my Despaires,
> And hastes Me on unto a sudden Death;
> Now tempting Me, to drowne my selfe in teares,
> And then in sighing, to give up my breath;
> Thus am I still provok'd to every Evill
> By this good wicked Spirit, sweet Angell Devill.
> Idea 20 (Works, Vol. II, p.320)

The references to possession are of a contemporary character, except that the temptation of the poet to drown himself in tears may be referred to the Gospel account of the demoniac boy whom the devil threw into fire and water.[3] The spirit speaking through the demoniac is a detail which may be found in both Biblical[4]

---

1. "Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light". AV, 2 Corinthians XI.xiv. Discussions of devils frequently mention this fact. E.g., Lavater, Of Ghostes, II.ix, p.140; Batman uppon Bartholome [citing S.Gregory], II.xx, f.12; King James, Daemonologie, I.i, p.4.
2. William Ingpen notes that the devil tempts in five ways, - by hurting the body, possession, impression of the imagination, tempting through the senses and deceiving with false forms. Secrets of Numbers, p.42.
3. Matthew XVII.xv.
4. Matthew VIII.xxviii-xxxii, Mark I.xxiii-xxviii.

and contemporary descriptions of possession.[1] The attempt to drive the spirit out and the consequent increase of the torments may be compared with the fact that the spirit possessing Mary Glover belched spittle at the preacher and increased Mary's torments when the preacher rebuked the possessing spirit, and prayed.[2] In spite of the allusions to temptation and despair, the poem, like that of Sidney's (see above, pp. 241-243), expresses in its paradoxes a continuing attachment to the mistress, the good-wicked spirit and angel-devil.

Another group of works connects the female occupations of witch and bawd, a connection which has been noted to have been made by Ovid in the character of Dipsas in Amores, I.viii. This chapter has already examined the use of magical ideas as metaphors for the attempt to win love. Instead of winning love, the bawd-witch attempts to procure it. Marston knew of Dipsas, for in The Malcontent Malevole addresses the bawd Maquerelle as "Dipsas".[3] In this play Maquerelle reports to Aurelia the opinion of Mendoza that

> at four women were fools; at fourteen, drabs; at forty, bawds; at fourscore, witches; and at a hundred, cats.
>
> The Malcontent, ed. Wine, I.vi.33-35

The play allows long tirades against the female sex,[4] in particular against its infidelity and general lasciviousness. The magical connections of pandaring with witchcraft are taken further by Maquerelle. She consults the calendar for an astrologically propitious time for her trade.

> Maquerelle. Let me see, where's the sign now? Ha' ye e'er a calendar? Where's the sign, trow you?
> Malevole. Sign! Why, is there any moment in that?

1. E.g., Late Counterfeyted Possession (1574), A2v-A3; A Booke Declaringe the Fearefull Vexasion of one Alexander Nyndge (1578), A2-Bv.
2. John Swan, True and Breife Report (1603), pp.44-46.
3. The Malcontent, ed. Wine, II.ii.1.
4. ibid., I.vi. 78ff.

Maquerelle. O, believe me, a most secret power.
Look ye, a Chaldean or an Assyrian,
I am sure 'twas a most sweet Jew,
told me, court any woman in the right
sign, you shall not miss. But you
must take her in the right vein then,
as when the sign is in Pisces, a fish-
monger's wife is very sociable; in
Cancer, a Precisian's wife is very
flexible; in Capricorn, a merchant's
wife hardly holds out; in Libra, a
lawyer's wife is very tractable,
especially if her husband be at the
term; only in Scorpio 'tis very
dangerous meddling.
The Malcontent, V.ii.57-68

The practice of pandaring is seen as a magical operation conducted at astrologically propitious times. Scorpio is a dangerous sign as it is associated with the eighth house of the heavens, that of death.

In Dekker and Webster's Westward Ho, Mistress Justiniano receives the approaches of a bawd sent by the Earl to pandar for him. In II.ii Mistress Justiniano tries to excuse to the Earl the fact that she had listened to the overtures of the bawd.

... you sent a Sorceres
So perfect in her trade, that did so lively
Breath forth your passionate Accents, and could drawe
A lover languishingly so piercingly,
That her charmes wrought uppon me, and in pitty
Of your sick hart which she did Counterfet,
(Oh shees a subtle Beldam!) see I cloth'd
My limbes (thus Player-like) in Rich Attyres.
Westward Ho (Dekker, Works, Vol. II)
II.ii.102-109

When Mistress Birdlime comes to see if her services have won Mistress Justiniano for the Earl, the former turns on the bawd and accuses her as a temptress, a Circe who has transformed her.

Mist. Just. Thou art a very bawd; thou art a Divel
Cast in a reverend shape; thou stale damnation!
Why hast thou me intist from mine owne Paradice,
To steale fruit in a barren wildernes.
Bird. Bawde and divel, and stale damnation! Wil
women's tounges (like Bakers legs)
never go straight.
Mist. Just. Had thy Circaean Magick me transformd
Into that sensuall shape for which thou
Conjurst,

> And that I were turn'd common Venturer,
> I could not love this old man.
> II.ii.152-161

The allusions may be compared with those in the Sidney poem. The difference here is that one woman tempts another and Mistress Justiniano's wavering and half-compliance confirm an opinion of the weakness of the sex. Women are both the instruments of temptation and prone to it. Mistress Justiniano manages to break free from the bawd's spell and the temptation, stripped of the possible ambiguities of their references to Circe, is revealed as maleficium.

> Witch: thus I breake thy Spels: ...
> II.ii.197

Later in the play Justiniano dresses up as his wife and so tricks the Earl who had meant to enjoy her. The Earl describes his preparations for the reception of Mistress Justiniano in musical terms with hints of natural magic, which relies on harmony and sympathy. The comments of the servants, who use conjuring as a sexual metaphor,[1] gloss the magical language of the Earl, revealing his "magic" for what it is.

> Earl. Go, let musicke
> Charme with her excellent voice an awfull scilence
> Through al this building, that her sphaery soule
> May (on the wings of Ayre) in thousand formes
> Invisibly flie, yet to be injoy'd. Away.
> 1. Serv. Does my Lorde meane to Conjure that hee
> drawes this strange Characters.
> 2. Serv. He does: but we shal see neither the
> Spirit that rises, nor the Circle it rises in.
> IV.ii.2-10

Instead of Mistress Justiniano, the Earl finds what he thinks is an ugly woman. This incident may be compared with Syphax's disillusionment when he finds that he has slept with the hag Erictho. The reward of the Earl's magical courtship by means of the bawd-witch and the power of music to incite the passions, is to discover the hag, the inversion of the desired mistress.

---

1. Cf. the attempts of a man to make his "spirit" stand by conjuring it, in a lute-song by Campion. Poems, ed. Davis, p.103.

Earl. Witch, hag, what art thou proud damnation?
Just. A Marchant's wife.
Earl. Fury who raizd thee up, what com'st thou for!
Just. For a banquet.
Earl. I am abus'd deluded: Speake what art thou?
Uds death speake, or ile kil thee, in that habit
I lookt to find an Angel, but thy face
Shewes th'art a Divel.
Just. My face is as God made it my Lord: I am no divel
unlesse women be divels, but men find em not so,
for they daily hunte for them.
Earl. What art thou that dost cozen me thus?
Just. A Marchants wife I say: Justinianos wife.
Shee, whome that long burding piece of yours,
I meane that Wicked mother Bird-lyme caught
for your honor. Why my Lord, has your Lordshippe
forgot how ye courted me last morning.
Earl. The devil I did.
Just. Kist me last morning.
Earl. Succubus, not thee.
Just. Gave me this Jewel last morning.
Earl. Not to thee Harpy.
IV.ii.57-77

The Earl suffers in Justiniano's deception the consequences of the use of "magic". In the language of ceremonial magic, he has brought up a spirit he cannot control. There is an allusion to this idea in the passage, for the Earl says that a "fury" has been raised. The Earl had hoped for an angel, the benign half of Drayton's "angel-devil" paradox for the mistress. A devil has come instead.[1] The Earl claims he has been deluded. The hag must be a succubus. Ironically he is correct. Justiniano is a man who has assumed the shape of a woman, just as the incubus demon can assume the female shape of the succubus. The woman he wished to have at his banquet has appropriately appeared as a harpy, the spoiler of banquets, and the half-woman, half-bird harpy itself embodies the paradox of the beautiful woman and the murderous monster in one body. Harpies are "ravening Dyvels, with faces lyke unto maydens".[2]

1. The parallel with ceremonial magic may be taken further. Angels only respond (and that rarely) to the incantations of the clean in heart, Devils are likely to come instead. Agrippa, Vanitie of Artes, xlv, f.58v. Scot refers to this opinion of Agrippa's in Discoverie, XV.xxxii, p.453.
2. Lavater, Of Ghostes, I.i, p.7.

Lodovico in Chapman's May-day sees all bawds as eventually becoming witches. He says of the maid Temperance,

> I hope this baud knowes not me, and yet I know not, she may be a witch, for a whore she was before I knew her, a baud I have knowne her any time this dozen yeares, the next step to honour them is a witch, because of Nature, for where the whore ends, the baud begins, and the corruption of a baud, is the generation of a witch.
>
> May-day, ed. R.F. Welsh, III.iii.139-143

In The Winter's Tale, Leontes, having assumed that Paulina has been bawd to Hermione, couples the accusation with that of witchcraft.[1] This is of course a completely wrong opinion and its significance lies in its relationship to Leontes' misguided suspicion of and disgust with the entire female sex.

Accusations against women that they are witches or devils sometimes relates the fact specifically to their sexuality. Here we are in the realm of Lear's sexual revulsion.

> Down from the waist they are centaurs,
> Though women all above;
> But to the girdle, do the gods inherit,
> Beneath is all the fiends';
> There's hell, there's darkness, there is
> the sulphurous pit -
>
> Lear, IV.vi.124-128

Interestingly Lear's expression of the diabolic sexuality of women is combined with the idea of the half-monster woman. The reference to the woman as centaur may be added to the list of similar references already noted; the lamia, siren and harpy. Penitent Brothel is torn between sexual desire and the idea, which in itself has sexual overtones, that woman is "weakness, slime, corruption".[2] His dichotomous reaction to the sex is externalised in the figure of the succubus who appears to him in IV.i.

---

1. The Winter's Tale, II.ii.66-68, 107.
2. A Mad World, My Masters, ed. Henning, IV.i.18.

Samuel Rowlands has a poem in which the idea of woman as a devil refers specifically to her sexual organ as the scalding pit of hell. "Amorous Austin" writes ballads to his lady,

> Vowing she is a perfect Angell right,
> When she by waight is many graines too light:
> Nay all that do but touch her with the stone,
> Will be depos'd that Angell she is none.
> How can he prove her for an Angell then?
> That proves her selfe a Divell, tempting men,
> And draweth many to the fierie pit,
> Where they are burned for their en'tring it.
> I know no cause wherefore he tearmes her so,
> Unlesse he meanes shee's one of them below,
> Where Lucifer, chiefe Prince doth domineere:
> If shee be such, then good my hartes stand cleere,
> Come not within the compasse of her flight,
> For such as do, are haunted with a spright.
> This Angell is not noted by her winges,
> But by her tayle, all full of prickes and stinges.
> And know this lustbind Lover's vaine is led,
> To prayse his Divell, in an Angel's sted.
>
> The Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine, Epigram 15 (Works, Vol. I, p.21)

The woman thought to be an angel is one of the fallen spirits, a tempter. Touching her with the "stone" is an obvious sexual pun. The idea of the tempting woman, the janua diaboli, is related specifically to her sexuality; her sexual organ becomes portae inferni. The emphasis on the stinging and burning qualities of the woman's diabolic sexuality[1] is the same as that in the Lear passage.[2]

This chapter has suggested that the reaction of the poets and dramatists ran the whole gamut of the use of the interconnections between love, the relationship between the sexes and magic. It may be noted that the optimistic view is stronger in the reign of Elizabeth, and the pessimistic in the reign of James. The list of references to women as witches and devils in Jacobean

---

1. Whores were believed to produce a scalding and burning sensation in the genitals of their clients. Quite the most scurrilous detail I have come across in connection with this is the opinion that the whore maliciously produces the effect by standing over a brazier of brimstone before copulation. Sloane Ms. 738, f.44.
2. Cf. Leontes' expression of sexual jealousy as "goads, thorns, nettles, tails of wasps". The Winter's Tale, I.ii.329.

drama could be extended from the works, for example, of Beaumont and Fletcher[1] and Thomas Dekker.[2] It is reasonable to suppose that the cult of the Virgin Queen exerted a restraining influence over the depiction of women as whores and witches, and Britomart, it will be remembered, defeated the magical and amatory attempts of Busirane.

The essential feature of the treatment of love in relation to magic is the paradoxical nature of the emotion depicted and the consequent paradoxes in the literary expression of that emotion. Many poets expressed in a modified form, or even as a literary convention, the conflicting emotions informing Catullus' Odi et amo. Although Psellus in Euphues and his England rejected the attempt to use magic as an instrument to win the love of the beloved, he then used magical metaphors to describe the art of true courtship. The mistress can be an angel or a devil, sometimes both at the same time. Pleasure and delight may be ancillary sensations to the enjoyment of true love, they can also find as their symbol the witch Circe. The mistress' eyes may "charm" in something of the weakened modern sense, they may also fascinate in the Renaissance meaning of the word. The possible depths of disillusionment of man with woman express themselves in pictures of woman as a fallen angel exerting diabolic influence.

Michael Drayton has been seen using the idea of the influence of a woman's beauty as a possessing spirit. In Idea 35 the poet triumphantly asserts the nature of love as miraculous. He describes its effects on his personality and verse as wonderful. They are like Christ's miracles. His dumbness is cured. He was blind until he saw Idea; his hope is resurrected. The climax of the poem is the assertion that love has

---

1. The Woman Hater (Dramatic Works, ed. Bowers, Vol.I), V.iv.129ff., 151ff.
2. The Honest Whore. Part II. (Works, Vol. II), III.i. 161ff.

"exorcised" the foul spirits that are his baser thoughts. The possible diabolic implications of love are, so to speak, themselves exorcised. The dark demons are cast out.

> My Vices cur'd, by Vertues sprung from thee,
> My Hopes reviv'd, which long in Grave had lyne;
> All uncleane Thoughts, foule Spirits cast out in mee,
> Onely by Vertue that proceeds from thee.

PART TWO

CHAPTER THREE

Magic and Illusion in Poetry and Drama

> [The devil] was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar and the father of it.
> AV, John VIII.xliv

> Mortis adductor. Vitae raptor. Justitiae declinator. Malorum radix. Fomes vitiorum. Seductor hominum. Proditur gentium. Incitator invidae. Origo avaritiae. Causa discordie. Excitator malorum. Demonum magister. Miserrima creatura. Tentator hominum. Deceptor malorum angelorum. Fallax animarum. Dux heriticorum. Pater mendacii.
> Mengus, Fustis Daemonum, p.243

> It is an easie thing (saith [Augustine]) for the wicked sprites with their bodies of ayre, to do many marvellous and feare-full things, whiche exceede the compasse of oure understanding, being wrapped and buried in bodies of death. And if some-time (saith he) we be drawne into admiration with the viewe of straunge things presented upon theatres or stages, whiche also we woulde not beleve thoughe they were tolde us by others, bycause they are so farre withoute the compasse of our understanding, why oughte we to finde it straunge if Divels and their Aungels (with their bodyes of the Elemente) do abuse our fragilitie in shewing us visions, Idols, and figures, ...
> Fenton, Certaine Secrete wonders of Nature, f.90[1]

This last chapter will attempt to examine the themes of magical illusion, trickery and deception in the literature of the period. It will be largely concerned with some of the major plays using magical material. An extended discussion of these plays will be attempted. The first half of the chapter will be taken up by a consideration of Marlowe's Doctor Faustus and Shakespeare's The Tempest as manifesting aspects of the themes of the illusions and the self-delusions of scholarly magic. This will be followed by an examination

---

1. Misfoliated as "96".

of Macbeth. Macbeth, it will be suggested, may be seen as using a limited rationalism which the play combines with a statement of the power of witchcraft to delude. Finally The Witch of Edmonton will be examined to suggest that a limited skepticism in the plays about the realities of witchcraft may also be connected with the themes of illusion and delusion. First some indication will be given of what appears to be an idea deeply rooted in the conception of the nature of the devil and magical effects; illusion.

I suggest that a recurring theme in discussions of demons and magic is that the devil himself is a kind of charlatan, many of whose operations are tricks. As a consequence of this idea magic, an art either taught by the Father of Lies or efficacious because of his cooperation, may be seen as illusory and deceptive. Having stated this theme, I must emphasise that co-existing with it is a concept of the devil as Prince of this world, the arch-enemy of man, with enormous power. Passages from the writings of George Gifford may be taken as representative of a traditional recognition of the mighty power and dominion of the devil.

> ...this change of theirs [i.e. the fall of the angels], did not destroy nor take away their former faculties: but utterly corrupt, pervert, and deprave the same: the essence of spirits remayned, & not onely but also power & understanding, such as in Angels, the heavenly Angels are very mighty & strong, far above all earthly creatures in the whole world. ... And what shall we saie for the wisedome and understanding of Angels, which was given them in their creation, was it not far above that which men can reach unto?
>
> Discourse, C4v-D

Yet in spite of the power of the devil, he is forced to work by deception. This is the idea I shall attempt to document as briefly as possible. As primary texts the witchcraft treatises in English will be used, and occasional references will be made to earlier texts to indicate that the English treatises are using ideas long inherent in discussions of demons and magic.

The description of the effects possible to the devil as appearances, illusions and tricks was prompted by a theological desire of writers to assert the omnipotence of God. There are effects which are peculiar to the power of God: these are miracles.[1] Augustine made the classic distinction between the power of God to work true miracles and the power of the devil to work only wonders.[2] Miracles are above the course of nature. Wonders, even though we may not understand how they are effected, are within it. Aquinas asserted that only God can work miracles. Anything effected by the devil only has the appearance of a miracle, and one of the ways the devil brings about what may seem to be miraculous effects is "per quandam illusionem".[3] Alexander of Hales also asserted that the devil effected only mira and not miracula.[4] In treatises in English, Daneau declares that Satan can only work by natural means and there is a great difference between a miracle and a wonder.[5] King James declares that only God can work miracles.[6] Holland, discussing the wonders of witches, quotes "Mira non miracula" in the margin.[7] Perkins also quotes

---

1. Augustine entitled De Civitate, XXI.vii "Quod in rebus miris summa credendi ratio sit omnipotentia Creatoris". Gifford comments that Christ's miracles bear witness of him. Shall we think that Pharaoh's magicians can do the same works? Discourse, E2v.
2. See above, p.12.
3. Lea, Materials, Vol. I, p.93.
4. ibid., Vol. I, p.95.
5. Dialogue, iv, I2v-I3v.
6. Daemonologie, I.vi, p.22.
7. Treatise, C2v.

"Mira vel miranda, non Miracula".[1] Thomas Cooper says that miracles are wrought by God alone, but Satan is able to do strange things.[2] This distinction was often noted in discussions of the contest between Moses and Pharaoh's magicians. It has been noted above that only Moses, or rather God through Moses, really effected the transformation of the rods into serpents.[3] Cardan in De Subtilitate described Pharaoh's magicians as "jugglers"[4] and Wier said that their "miracles" were but simulacra.[5] Gifford declared that the staffs of the magicians were only transformed in appearance and that the senses of the bystanders were deluded by Satan.[6] King James agreed that the transformation of the magicians' rods was only in appearance.[7] William Perkins says that Jannes and Jambres did not transform their rods. If the devil could transform a rod into a serpent then his power would be equal to that of God. Satan can work no true miracles, he can only perpetrate illusions.[8] Already it is possible to detect the idea that magicians who work by the power of the devil are mere jugglers because of the devil's limited power.

Similarly, one of the abilities ascribed to witches, the power to transform men into animals, cannot be true, for the devil cannot transform. Danaeus says that transformation into animals is not possible. Satan causes the illusion and deceives the senses.[9] Gifford says that it is against piety to believe that the devil can create or change bodies.[10] King James expresses the view that the devil can only make witches seem like animals.[11] There can be no transformation into animals, for only God can create.[12] It is a work

---

1. Discourse, Epistle Dedicatory.
2. Mystery, I.iii, pp.50-52.
3. See above, p.15.
4. Lea, Materials, Vol. II, p.436.
5. ibid., Vol. II, p.498.
6. Discourse, E-Ev.
7. Daemonologie, I.vi, pp.22-23.
8. Discourse, IV.ii, pp.160-164.
9. Dialogue, F-F2.
10. Discourse, E.
11. Daemonologie, II.iv, p.40.
12. Cotta, Trial of Witchcraft, vi, p.33.

surmounting the power of the devil to change the substance of a thing into the substance of another.[1]

The devil is sometimes seem in the treatises as simia Dei, the ape of God who tries to imitate the Deity's miracles. He counterfeits the works of God.[2] He imitates sacred prophecies in divination.[3] The wonders of the wicked art are imitations of the marvellous works of God.[4] Thus Satan's powers are limited. However, the devil wishes to seem to be able to do marvellous things. To this end he tricks and deceives men with illusions. Duplicity and trickery are fundamental characteristics of the devil. Devils fashion illusions and pretend to perform miracles to deceive poor women.[5] Among the things Satan does to the wicked, one is to blind their minds and rob them of God's word by delusion.[6] Gifford purposes to open Satan's pack and to "make shew of so many of his false and counterfait wares".[7] Satan is the Father of Lies and is not to be trusted. All his doings are hidden under "colourable shewes".[8] He deludes the fantasy.[9] He is full of craft and sleight,[10] and "can deceive thousand thousands, and even the wisest for this world".[11] Gifford in his promise to open the devil's pack, cited above, is comparing Satan to a pedlar. Lavater says

> Sathan doth imitate craftie gamsters, who suffer a plaine and simple yong man to winne a while of them, that afterwards beeing greedy to play, they may lurche him of all his golde and silver. He followeth them which once or twise justly repay unto their creditoures, suche money as they have borrowed, keeping their promise duely, that afterwards they may obteine a great summe of them, and then deceyve them.
>
> Of Ghostes, II.xviii, p.172

---

1. Perkins, Discourse, I.iv, p.25.
2. King James, Daemonologie, I.vi, p.23.
3. Perkins, Discourse, III.i, pp.56-57.
4. Cooper, Mystery, I.iii, p.48.
5. Fenton, Secrete Wonders, f.90v [f.90 misfoliated as "f.96"].
6. Holland, Treatise, G4v.
7. Discourse, B.
8. ibid., B2v.
9. ibid., Ev.
10. Gifford, Dialogue, E2v.
11. ibid., Hv.

Agrippa, in listing the infernal hierarchies of spirits in the De Occulta, says that the second degree is that of the spirits of lies and the fifth is that of the deluders who work false miracles. Their prince is Satan. The ninth degree is that of the tempters and ensnarers.[1] Mason declares that the devil can work no miracles but deludes our senses.[2] He works under the colour of magical ceremonies which are in themselves inefficacious.[3] The devil's wonders are of two kinds, says William Perkins. One sort is illusory. The devil deceives the inward and outward senses and makes a man think he experiences something which he does not. The Apostle exclaimed "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?" Here he is using a magical term applied to magicians,

> who use to cast a miste (as it were) before the eies, to dazle them, and make things to appeare unto them, which indeede they doe not see:

So S.Paul takes it for granted that men can be deceived by Satanic operation.[4] The devil is the author of lying wonders[5] and can deceive the senses and make men blind with illusions.[6]

Thus one of the chief ways by which the devil operates is by illusion. It should perhaps be stressed that I am not suggesting that it was thought that the devil could not produce effects. The treatise-writers agree that he can. But even these effects are often a trick. Satan caused fire to fall on Job, but he did not and could not create that fire. Spirits collected the fire in the air and scattered it on the unfortunate Job.[7] Augustine in explaining how devils can foresee, or rather pretend to foresee, for absolute prescience is an attribute of God, gives the following chapter-heading.

---

1. De Occulta, III.xviii.
2. Anatomie, p.18.
3. ibid., p.22.
4. Discourse, I.iv, pp.22-23.
5. Cotta, Short Discoverie, viii, p.54.
6. Cooper, Mystery, I.iii, pp.52-54.
7. Gifford, Discourse, D4.

> Daemonum divinatio tribus ex causis. Acrimonia sensus, celeritate motus, et diuturna rerum experientia praepollent.
> De Divinatione Daemonum, iii

The English treatise-writers seem to have inherited these three means of demonic divination as an explanation for the means by which devils worked other kinds of wonders. Scot, giving marginal references to Continental authorities, notes the three explanations as those accounting for the devil's seeming prescience.[1] Lavater,[2] Daneau,[3] Mason[4] and Perkins[5] give the explanations for a far wider range of demonic activities and use them to account for the wonders devils perform. One of the points I wish to make here is the similarity of these explanations of the devils' working of wonders to the techniques of a juggler, one who works by sleight of hand. We may think that the devil is doing wonderful things, but he is simply with great skill manipulating natural properties and forces. One is struck by the similarity of Augustine's description of the devil's skill and agility to the following definition of legerdemain in what is probably the earliest illustrated manual in English on "conjuring" in the weakened modern sense.

> Legerdemain is an operation, whereby one may seeme to worke wonderfull, impossible, and incredible things by agilitie, nimblenesse & slightnesse of hand.
> Hocus Pocus Junior (1634) A4v[6]

---

1. Discoverie, IX.iii, p.170.
2. Of Ghostes, II.xvii, p.167.
3. Dialogue, I4-I4v.
4. Anatomie, pp.20-21.
5. Discourse, I.iv, pp.19-21.
6. The Short Title Catalogue has an entry for an unique second edition (1635) of this work. This was at the British Museum, press-mark 7913.bb.36, but the book was destroyed by bombing. The STC does not have an entry for the edition I have used, which is presumably the first edition. A copy, presumably unique, of this edition is to be found in the Harry Price Collection in the University of London library. The shelf-mark is H.P.L. [Hocus] Strong Room.

Thus it can be seen that one traditional conception of the devil in discussions of magic was that he was a deceiver, a worker of false miracles, an illusionist and a juggler. This conception may be seen as a basic stratum of ideas below two higher strata, which will now be briefly indicated. These are that the operations of magical practitioners are in a sense themselves illusions and that any arrangement made between the devil and a human is likely to be deceptive.

The idea that magical operations are in themselves ineffective has been touched upon in the previous chapter in connection with amatory magic.[1] I shall take the specific instance of the supposed power of magical words as representative of the power of magic generally, although it will be seen that magical figures and characters are often included in discussions of the power of words and are treated in much the same way. Orthodox treatise-writers reject the idea that words may bring about wonderful effects. A conjurer thinks himself a commander of devils but he has no power to compel a devil other than that which the devil allows him by voluntary compliance. A charmer thinks that his words have a power of their own but they do not.[2] It is heathen superstition to believe that words and figures have a power of their own.[3] Words have no power and any effect is due to the operation of the devil.[4] Enchanters use many means, including magical charms, to mask the works of the devil. Any effect "proceedeth from the illusions of Sathan". Charming has its origin in Satan who never abode in the truth. He, trying to imitate God's miracles, persuades men that words have great efficacy to alter the course of nature and raise

---

1. See above, pp.191-192.
2. Gifford, Discourse, Gv.
3. Lavater, Of Ghostes, II.vii, p.129.
4. James, Daemonologie, I.iv, p.12.

tempests. Any power the words may have is from a league with the devil. Charms are mockeries.[1] Words of themselves can do nothing.[2] Charms, spells, words and characters have no power to work wonders. They are the devil's sacraments and watchwords to make him work wonders. The most acceptable words to the devil are those from Scripture, Characters, figures and image-magic have no power in themselves and any effect is the work of the devil.[3] A charm is a counterfeit means by which Satan shrouds his power. Barbarous words can have no effect. They are signs to the devil to work wonders.[4]

Words and other magical methods of attempting to produce magical effects are therefore inefficacious. Any effect is dependent on an arrangement with the devil. This arrangement itself is illusory and deceptive. Satan's covenants with sorcerers are like the bargain made between two thieves. One remains in the woods and waits for a whistled signal to appear. Figures and characters are themselves toys "& colourable trifles to bleare mens eyes". Satan is like the jugglers who perform strange feats in the middle of a circle, with

> sundry gestures & casting of the handes, and with much babling & prittle prattle of wordes, doo fil & weery the eares & eyes of the lookers on, that they shall not perceive how in the place of one litle bal, they lay down three or foure, which they kept covertly betweene their fingers, ...

Thus does Satan represent vain shows of figures and words to the magician to distract him from the real covenant.[5] The devil obliges himself in trifles through the pact. Magicians can have no power over him.[6] In the contract the devil binds himself to perform certain services.[7] In the covenant witches are deceived in the observances

---

1. Roberts, Treatise, pp.67-70.
2. Mason, Anatomie, p.48.
3. Perkins, Discourse, IV.i, pp.134-149.
4. Cooper, Mystery, IX, pp.159-162.
5. Daneau, Dialogue, I-12.
6. James, Daemonologie, I.iii, p.9.
7. ibid., I.vi, p.19.

the devil commands and which can produce no effects in themselves. The Tempter often fails in his vowed promises. He claims that any defects in operation are not due to him but to the negligence of the magician. Perhaps they mistook his meaning. Men are willing to swallow these lies.[1] In the covenant Satan tries to make the witch believe in the equality of the parties in the arrangement. He likes the world to think that he can be at the command of the witch.[2] He agrees to appear in a particular form to confirm the belief that the witch has power over him. He makes the witch think that he never comes except at her request. He puffs men up with the belief that they are gods since they can command the devil. He deludes the witch into thinking that she can shut him up in a box as if she were a gaoler.[3]

To sum up, the power of magic to work effects is an illusion. It can only operate through the power of the devil, often by means of an arrangement. This arrangement itself is deceptive. The devil, who works any effects in magic, is himself an illusionist.[4] It is this theme of illusions and deceptions inherent in magic which will now be examined in some literary works of the period. More detailed references to particular ideas of magical illusion and deception will be made when it is felt they illuminate specific details in the literary works.

---

1. Roberts, Treatise, pp.29-30.
2. Cooper, Mystery, V.iii, pp.76-77.
3. ibid., V.iv, pp.79-84.
4. It should be emphasized that I have been concerned in the above examination with a strand of ideas. In practice, witches still cursed and made images believing that their operations were effective, and conjurors still trusted in the power of Divine Names and magical characters to raise devils, in spite of the orthodox opinions of the treatise-writers.

Marlowe's Doctor Faustus is a study of a magician's capacity for self-delusion. In the play the illusions of magic are an alternative to the realities of Christian belief. It may seem that such a reading of the play goes against the traditional picture of Marlowe as rebel and atheist, but it is suggested that Doctor Faustus is orthodox in its demonstration of the illusory and deceptive nature of magic.[1] Instead of seeing the play as a rebellion against the constrictions of belief, I would prefer to see it as a demonstration of an orthodoxy which perhaps Marlowe personally fought against accepting. The final vision of Christ's blood streaming in the firmament was a reality which Marlowe found unacceptable.

I shall refer in my discussion of Faustus' survey and rejection of the branches of orthodox knowledge in the first scene of the play, to Agrippa's De Vanitate in the 1569 translation by James Sanford. It has been suggested above[2] that Agrippa's De Occulta was known to Marlowe and that he drew on it for magical ideas in Faustus. The parallels of ideas in the De Vanitate and Faustus, scene i are close, and there is even a possible verbal echo of the book in the play. Agrippa rejects the value of knowledge and philosophy.

> What felicitee then, is there now in Sciences? Or what is the praise, and the blessednesse of wise men, and Philosophers, of whom all Schooles doo ringe and sounde, with their glorie, whose Soules Hell heare and see, to be tormented with cruel punishmentes?
>
> De Vanitie of Artes, f.3v

At the beginning of the second scene of Faustus one scholar asks another,

> I wonder what's become of Faustus that
> Was wont to make our schooles ring, with sic probo.
>
> ii.194-195

---

1. An useful corrective to the traditional view of Marlowe the rebel and atheist may be found in W. Moelwyn Merchant's "Marlowe the Orthodox" in Christopher Marlowe, ed. Brian Morris, pp.179-192.
2. See above, p.72.

I suggest that the "two voices" of Agrippa, that is the voice of the De Occulta and that of the Vanitie of Artes can illuminate Faustus' striving after the knowledge of a demi-god and the play's revelation of the vanity of this striving. The appeal of Agrippa's view of the semi-divine magician in the De Occulta to Marlowe has been suggested above.[1] The Vanitie of Artes presented the other side of Agrippa, that of the repentant magician. Printers of Agrippa's works seem to have chosen to keep the two sides together. The chapters in the De Vanitate retracting the opinions of magic are printed immediately after the De Occulta in the volume bearing the fictitious imprint of the Beringi brothers (p.505ff). The extract is entitled "Henrici Cor(nelii) Agrippae Censura sive Retractio de Magia, ex sua declamatione de Vanitate scientarum [sic], & excellentia verbi Dei". The 1651 English translation, Three Books of Occult Philosophy, adopts the same procedure (p.567ff). The Vanitie of Artes, in the section "To the Reader", offers a picture of Agrippa in the spirit of the Prologue to Faustus. Agrippa was a man

> whose knowledge, although it were great, yet greatly he erred, and no merveil, for he gave his minde to unleeful Artes, contrarie to the Lawes of God and man: for it is saide, and his workes testifie the same, that he exercised the Arte Magicke, and therein farre excelled all other of his time, but in the ende, his wicked knowledge was the cause of his miserable deathe: ...
> Vanitie of Artes, iiiv

Further, Agrippa in the Vanitie of Artes announces himself as "professinge Divinitee"[2] just as the English Faust Book describes Faustus as a student and subsequently a Doctor of Divinity.[3]

Faustus' survey of kjowledge is motivated by a thirst for the means to immortalise himself, or to escape from the limits of his humanity, through learning. This may be compared with the Agrippan voice of the

---

1. See above, p.72.
2. Vanitie of Artes, f.1v.
3. Palmer and More, The Sources of the Faust Tradition, pp.135-136.

De Occulta. The Vanitie of Artes voices an orthodox condemnation of such a pursuit.[1] Having noted that in the opinion of philosophers every science

> doothe bringe unto man some Divinitee, accordinge to the capacitie and value of them both, so that oftentimes, beyonde the limites of Humanitie, they may be reckened amonge the felowshep of the Goddes.
>
> Vanitie of Artes, f.1

Agrippa rejects this view of the apotheosizing effects of knowledge.

> ... it bringeth to us, above the limite of Humanitee, none other blessing of the Deitee, but that perchance, which that auncient Serpent promised to our firste parentes, saiyinge Ye shalbe as Goddes, and shall know good and ill.
>
> ibid., f.2

As Agrippa rejects logic, of which Aristotle's works including the "Analytica" are the primary texts,[2] so Faustus rejects logic.[3] Agrippa rejects physic[4] as Faustus rejects medicine.[5] As Faustus immediately moves on to law and finally divinity, it is worth noting that Agrippa says in the chapter on physic that there is a dispute among lawyers and physicians as to which of their arts is next in importance to divinity.[6] Agrippa rejects law itself in chapter xci of the Vanitie of Artes. As to divinity, Agrippa is prepared to go some of the way with Faustus, but Agrippa's rejection of divinity is only a prelude to his eulogy of the Scriptures at the end of the work.[7] Here the ways of Agrippa and Faustus diverge. Faustus can find nothing to his purpose in the Bible.

---

1. The Vanitie of Artes is of course not unique in its condemnation of the curious and impious searching after secrets which leads to hell. Coxe cites Cato's opinion that we should not meddle with arcana Dei. Short Treatise, A7v. Daneau says that it is better to be like the ancient Christians and banish curious knowledge. What else can those who pry into deep matters want except to be witches. Vanity and curiosity causes people to become sorcerers. Many men, including scholars, are carried away by vanity and pride and are "not able to containe themselves within the compas of mans understandinge & capacitie". Dialogue, B5, B6v, E2, E3. King James says that curiosity is the enticement of magicians. Daemonologie, I.i, p.8.
2. Vanitie of Artes, vii, ff.20v-22.
3. Faustus, i.32-39.
4. Vanitie of Artes, lxxxii-lxxxiii, ff.140-150v.
5. Faustus, i.40-55.
6. Vanitie of Artes, lxxxii, f.140.
7. ibid., c.

Stipendium peccati mors est: ha, Stipendium, &c
The reward of sin is death? that's hard:
Si pecasse negamus, fallimur, et nulla est in nobis veritas:
If we say that we have no sinne we deceive our selves, and there is no truth in us,
Why then belike
We must sinne, and so consequently die,
I, we must die, an everlasting death.
What doctrine call you this? Che sera, sera:
What will be, shall be; Divinitie adiew.
i.66-75

I believe that to make Agrippa's distinction between the knowledge to be gained from divinity and the knowledge to be gained from the Scriptures is an illuminating approach. Faustus misuses the Biblical texts in two ways. As is generally recognised, Faustus quotes only half the verse of Romans VI.xxiii.

> stipendia enim peccati mors gratia autem Dei vita aeterna in Christo Jesu Domino nostro.

In the case of 1 John I.viii Faustus neglects the following and antithetically important verse.

> si dixerimus quoniam peccatum non habemus ipsi nos seducimus et veritas in nobis non est si confiteamur peccata nostra fidelis est et justus ut remittat nobis peccata et emundet nos ab omni iniquitate.

Faustus then constructs the following syllogism. The wages of sin is death. We lie if we say that we have no sin, therefore we die. Now Agrippa in his rejection of the art of divinity adduced as one of the reasons for its vanity the way scholars misuse Biblical texts. He complains that scholars "wrong the Scriptures with intricate woordes gevinge them a contrarie sence".[1] If they are argued with, the scholars respond (and here is an ironic comment on Faustus' choice of Biblical texts) "the letter killeth, it is deadly".[2]

---

1. Vanitie of Artes, xcvii, f.169.
2. Agrippa is here referring to a text in the Epistles, "for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life". 2 Corinthians III.vi.

Afterwards, the scholars in resorting to

> interpreting, to expounding, to glossinge, and to sillogisinge, do rather geve it some other sence, then the proper meaninge of the letter, ...
>
> Vanitie of Artes, xcvii, f.169

Faustus gravelled the pastors of the German Church with "concise Sillogismes".[1] Agrippa gives the warning that anyone who adds or takes anything away from the Scriptures is accursed by the law of God and given over to the devil.[2] With their opinions, continues Agrippa, they rend Our Saviour Christ in pieces "and attire him in divers maskeries of sophismes".[3] The verse in 1 John also imposes an implied moral imperative, "si confiteamur peccata nostra". Faustus throughout the play continually avoids this choice. He evades personal responsibility. Systems of knowledge replace moral decisions.

Faustus throughout his survey of the branches of learning had sought for the means of transcending the limits of mortal humanity. One can detect, I think, a predetermination that this means should be magical in the rejection of medicine. The kind of knowledge Faustus wants can

> make men to live eternally,
> Or being dead, raise them to life againe,
> i. 52-53

The Agrippan voice of the De Occulta can already be heard. At the end of a list of the abilities of magicians which I have suggested Marlowe used later in Faustus,[4] Agrippa says that his exalted magicians "curant morbos, suscitant mortuos".[5] In the Bible he chooses to find by misconstruction a promise of death, whereas in reality the text promised the

---

1. Faustus, i.139-140.
2. This is possibly an allusion to Revelation XXII. xviii-xix which threatens plagues and erasure of a man's name from the Book of Life if he adds or takes anything away from the prophecy contained therein. It is worth mentioning that Faustus echoes the Apocalypse in his last speech.
3. Vanitie of Artes, xcvii, f.170v.
4. See above, p.72.
5. De Occulta, III.vi, p.321.

"vita aeterna" for which he craved. The Vanitie of Artes, after its skeptical voyage, finds safe harbour in the authority of the Scriptures.[1] Faustus turns to the magical knowledge which the Vanitie of Artes had declared to be as illusory as the other forms of knowledge. Whereas Agrippa finds certainty and an escape from the vanity of all arts in the Scriptures, Faustus chooses magic, in which he hopes to find an escape from the restrictions and fallibility of human knowledge, and the means of avoiding a personal choice between good and evil. His rejection of the Scriptures as "unpleasant" and "harsh" reveals him using an aesthetic criterion to avoid the "crude" demands of Christianity.[2]

Ironically Faustus finds that magic relies on books just as do the systems of knowledge he weighed in the balance and found wanting. It is "Cornelius", the character with the same name as that of the author of the De Occulta and the De Vanitate, who explains the necessity of a grounding in astrology, languages and the virtues of minerals for the performance of magic.[3]

---

1. It is worth remarking that Agrippa had joined with his panegyric of Scripture "A Digression in praise of the Asse". Vanitie of Artes, cii, ff.183v-185v. The ass for Agrippa is a symbol of Christian simplicity and humility. True Christian ass triumph over the learned doctors. Marlowe in the Baines note termed Protestants as "Hypocritical asses". Kocher, Christopher Marlowe, p.35.
2. Faustus' versions of the Vulgate passages represent an improvement in the elegance of the Latin. See Marlowe's opinion, reported in the Baines note, that the New Testament was filthily written. Kocher, p.35.
3. The English Faust Book notes that the instructors of Faustus were proficient in Chaldean, Persian, Hebrew, Arabian and Greek. Palmer and More, p.36. Ward in his edition of Faustus, p.146 refers to Albert's Opus Naturum on the subject of a knowledge of minerals. Kocher, pp.152-153 refers to writers of treatises on magic on the same point. However Agrippa admonishes the reader that a knowledge of the natural properties of things and of astrology is essential for magic. De Occulta, I.ii, p.4. Interestingly this advice is preceded by a reference to the sages of Greece travelled in search of magical secrets "per totam Syriam, Aegyptum, Judaeam, & Chaldaeorum". The similarity of this passage to the EFB's list of languages may have attracted Marlowe's eye to the passage.

Magic therefore is not so transcendent an art as Faustus had imagined. It is rooted in orthodox systems of knowledge. Conjuring has its authorities, Bacon and Peter of Abano,[1] just as the rejected branches of knowledge had Aristotle, Galen and Justinian. Another irony is that the Biblical texts, the Psalter and the New Testament, are "requisite" to magical operation.[2] Faustus, who would not accept them as authorities in his survey of learning, now cheerfully bears them off, trusting in their efficacy to command spirits.

The following scene, involving Wagner and the two scholars, parodies Faustus' unscholarly deductive processes. Wagner's deliberate complicated misconstruction of the scholar's simple inquiry provides an ironic sidelight on Faustus' tortuous wrenching of the Biblical texts from their full and plain meaning. Wagner's "but that followes not"[3] could be a blunt criticism of Faustus' erroneous syllogism. Wagner goes on to define Faustus as "Corpus naturale"[4] which is a definition of the subject-matter of physics.[5] Literally translated it also gives a proper definition of Faustus as human, a "natural body".[6] It is a definition of himself recognised by Faustus as irritating and restricting, "Yet art thou still but Faustus, and a man".[7] The attempts of Faustus to become more than a man and more than a natural body are a recurrent motif in the play.

The conjuration relies on the religious framework which Faustus has rejected. The attempt to enforce spirits by the potencies of Divine Names reveals an implicit acceptance of the power of the celestial to control the infernal, "I see there's vertue in my heavenly words".[8] Religion is depersonalised into a means

---

1. Faustus, i.181.
2. ibid., i.182-183.
3. ibid., ii.200.
4. ibid., ii.208.
5. Ward, p.150.
6. Cf. Donne's definition of man as a body made of the elements animated by a spirit, Divine Poems, ed. Garner, p.13.
7. Faustus, i.51.
8. ibid., iii.255.

of producing effects.[1] The first demand of Faustus to the spirit he has raised is that it should do whatever he commands,

> Be it to make the Moone drop from her Sphere,
> Or the Ocean to overwhelme the world,
> iii.266-267

These lines have been suggested to be borrowings from Virgil, Eclogues, VIII.[2] The first reassurance Faustus demands is that of the nihilistic powers he will obtain.

The shattering revelation of this scene is that the orthodox are right and the heterodox are mistaken. Magic cannot enforce spirits to rise. The ascent of Mephostophilis was voluntary.[3] The significance of the spirit's admission has been underestimated. It completely undermines the whole system of ceremonial magic. If devils cannot be compelled then the whole art of conjuring is vain. Faustus really should have examined his magical authorities more closely. Bacon could have told him that men are deceived if they think that they can compel spirits.[4] Faustus asks the devil, "Did not my conjuring speeches raise thee? speake." The imperative reveals Faustus trying to establish the expected pattern of a conjuration. The spirit delayed, as was to be expected. Its first appearance

---

1. See the distinction between magic and religion made by A.A. Barb. "The fundamental difference between magic and religion is still the same as it always was. On the one hand, we have the religious man, offering his adorations to the Deity; ... On the other hand, we have the magician, attempting to force the supernatural powers to accomplish what he desires and avert what he fears". "The Survival of the Magic Arts" in The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), p.101.
2. See above, p.49.
3. Kocher cites Guazzo, Del Rio and King James on the voluntary ascent of devils. Christopher Marlowe, pp.159-160. Other instances of the expression of this orthodox belief could be adduced. Gifford says that "conjurors suppose that thay bind [the devil] by the power of conjuration in which they reckon up the names of God, but he is voluntarily bound, or doth indeed but faine himselfe to be bound, for shal we thinke that he would devise & teach an art wherby he should indeed be bound?". Discourse, F4v.
4. Discourse of the ... efficacie of Art and Nature (1597), p.55.

had been horrible, as was to be expected.[1] The revelation of the demon's voluntary ascent breaks the expected pattern. Faustus tries to re-establish the pattern by questioning the usually recalcitrant spirit and commanding it to speak.[2] Instead of surly monosyllables, the demon replies with an eloquent explanation based on orthodox doctrine. One detail of the warnings of conjurations should have been noted by Faustus. A prayer to God requests that the spirits appear and that they be "nobis intelligibili, & sine omni ambiguitate".[3] Reginald Scot's scepticism about the ability of magicians to compel spirits is even more to the point. Magicians think they can

> make them that have been liers from the beginning, to tell the truth: ...
> Discoverie, XV.xxi

Mephostophilis' answer smacks of ambiguity, "That was the cause, but yet per accidens".[4] The simple fact is that Faustus' conjurations had no efficacy at all in raising the demon, but Mephostophilis chooses to disguise this fact behind a scholastic tag. Faustus' own scholastic evasions and half-truths have been rewarded by the appearance of a demon who quibbles. Mephostophilis often answers Faustus' questions truthfully, but the treatise-writers comment that we should not believe devils even if, or perhaps especially when,

---

1. On the delay of spirits in answering conjurations, Kocher cites the Heptameron's "Quid tardatis?" Christopher Marlowe, p.157. It should be noted that whereas in the EFB the delay of the spirit makes Faustus want to abandon the conjuration (Palmer and More, p.137), Marlowe's Faustus, in correct magical fashion, exhorts the spirit to appear and pronounces the conjuration. As to the terrible first appearance of a spirit, one conjuration tries to avoid this terrifying manifestation, "... imperamus, ut appareatis statim nobis hic juxta circulum in pulchra forma, videlicet humana, & sine deformitate & tortuositate aliqua". Heptameron, p.563.
2. Cf. a prayer that spirits "dent vera responsa, de quibus eos interrogavero". Heptameron, p.565. See also a long adjuration compelling spirits to speak. Add. Ms. 36674, f.71.
3. Heptameron, p.566.
4. Faustus, iii.274.

they tell the truth.[1] Even if we recognise the truth of some of Mephostophilis' statements, we should remember that an Elizabethan audience would recall that he is an agent of the Father of Lies.

Before the signing of the pact, Faustus goes through the first of the oscillations between repentance and damnation which are to recur in the play. Instead of the conviction of salvation he has a conviction of damnation. The reality of good and evil and of personal choice is receding. Entangled in the unrealities of magic and in the snares of the devil, Faustus sees God and Heaven as illusory "vaine fancies".[2] The Bad Angel echoes his opinion.

> Faustus. Contrition, Prayer, Repentance? what of these?
> Good Angel. O they are meanes to bring thee unto heaven.
> Bad Angel. Rather illusions, fruits of lunacy.
> That makes men foolish that do use them most.
> v.405-408

Faustus is determined to persevere in the illusions of magic. Having been told quite firmly in the conjuration scene that the ascent of demons is voluntary, Faustus still uses a typical imperative magical formula, "Veni veni Mephostophilis".[3] In the scene of the signing of the pact, Faustus resolutely turns away from the reality of salvation to damnation. The blood pact is a parody of the Redemption of the Cross. As the blood trickles from his arm, Faustus says "And let it be propitious for my wish".[4] I believe

---

1. "Can not he or dooth not he use right excellent godly speeches mixed with bad, to the end he may deceave?" Gifford, Discourse, E4v. The devil in the maid at Phillipos in Acts XVI proclaimed Paul and his companions as ministers of the Gospel. Paul knew of the craft of the devil and rebuked him. ibid., F-Fv.
2. Faustus, v.391-392.
3. ibid., v.418. Cf. "Venite, venite, imperat vobis Adonay... ". Heptameron, p.564.
4. Faustus, v.446-447.

this line to be an allusion to the Mass[1] which commemorates, or rather in Roman Catholic theology re-enacts, the Redemption through the sacrifice of the Cross. The language echoes the words of the celebrant, especially in his post-communion prayer in the Tridentine Mass.

> Placeat tibi, sancta Trinitas, obsequium servitutis meae, & praesta: ut sacrificium quod oculis tuae indignus obtuli, tibi sit acceptabile, mihique & omnibus, pro quibus illud obtuli, sit, te miserante, propitiabile.

The language describing the pact, "Deed of Gift", "byll", "Consummatum est: this byll is ended",[2] suggests the religious language describing the sacrifice of the Cross as satisfying the debt of sin.[3] Agrippa, it will be remembered, described the temptation of knowledge as the temptation of the Serpent in Genesis. Instead of accepting Christ's sacrifice which quits the debt of Adam, Faustus again sets his face against Christianity by contracting himself further to the devil in an inversion of the redemptive act of the Crucifixion.

The pact which Faustus signs is in itself a trick. The first clause promises "that Faustus may be a spirit in forme and substance".[4] This represents an increased scholastic precision in terms from those of the pact

---

1. C.L. Barber illuminatingly discusses Faustus in connexion with sixteenth century ideas of the Communion service. Mr Barber's study is especially good on the references to eating and appetite in the play. Unfortunately he describes the blood-letting incident as "the crucial moment of the black mass". "The Form of Faustus' Fortunes Good or Bad", Tulane Drama Review, 8 (1964). Reprinted in Shakespeare's Contemporaries, ed. Bluestone and Rabkin, pp.91-111.
2. Faustus, v.449,454, 463.
3. See the two homilies on the Passion. They mention Christ's "purchase" on Good Friday when he "payed the dette". It pleased Christ to "discharge us quyte". Adam had "purchased" sin and death and we had been made bondslaves to Satan. Certayne Sermons appoynted by the Quenes Majestie (1559), ff.190v-197. Calvin, commenting on the last words from the Cross says that the sentence "teacheth the whole accomplishing of our salvation and all the partes thereof are contained in his death". The holy Gospel ... according to John (1584), p.425.
4. Faustus, v.485.

in the EFB.

> That he might be a Spirite in shape and qualitie.
> Palmer and More, p.140

One of the few things it is quite impossible for the devil to do, as was noted in the introduction to this chapter, is to change the substance of a creature. The devil can only change appearances.

As the first assurances Faustus demanded of Mephostophilis were that he could pull down the moon and drown the world, so the first object of his enquiry is Hell. He does not take the answers he receives seriously and is in search of a wife almost before the demon has finished replying. Faustus' mind flits from desire to desire as restlessly as he rifled the pages of his authorities. Mephostophilis bestows on the magician the magical knowledge for which he had sought. In Looking-Glass fashion the more Faustus seeks to transcend the limits of humanity, the more he finds himself back with books. Not only that, the books are increasingly disappointing. There is some allure in a book that can raise tempests and summon armed men,[1] but a book of conjurations quickly followed by an astrological work and a work on natural history[2] fail to live up to the expectations of Faustus' ecstatic "'Tis magick, magick, that hath ravisht me".[3] It is possible to imagine that Mephostophilis handed over Ptolemy's Almagest and the Materia Medicina of Dioscorides at this point. Faustus is plainly disappointed, "Tut thou art deceived".

Faustus' last wavering attempt at repentance before he sets off on his journey opens with three typical lines.

> When I behold the heavens then I repent
> And curse thee wicked Mephostophilis,
> Because thou hast depriv'd me of those Joyes.
> vi.552-554

---

1. Faustus, v.544-548.
2. ibid., v.551.0.3-5510.10.
3. ibid., i.137.

The avowal of repentance is joined to Faustus' shifting of the blame for his fault. The third line expresses an unthinking acceptance of his own damnation. The Good Angel's exhortations to repentance are answered by the Bad Angel's "Thou art a spirit, God cannot pity thee".[1] If my suggestion that the first clause of the pact is a trick is correct, then the Bad Angel is lying, for Faustus is not a spirit and therefore is capable of repentance and forgiveness. Faustus' corporeality is subject to the instruments of suicide which the demon lays before him.

Faustus turns remorselessly to questions of astrology. References to astrology recur inexorably in the play. An understanding of astrology was essential to the performance of magic, and in the previous scene Mephostophilis had given Faustus an astrological book. The answers that Faustus now receives are known even to Wagner. In answer to inquiries about the variable frequency of planetary conjunctions the demon replies "Per inaequalem motum respectu totius". The answer is a simple one and also has the form of the scholastic tag which is associated in the play with specious knowledge and evasion. Mephostophilis cannot evade the direct question of who made the world, and refuses to answer. Faustus calls on Christ and three devils ascend. Lucifer's statement, "Christ cannot save thy soule, for he is just",[2] is the most barefaced lie the Father of Lies has yet told. The Scriptures which Faustus rejected and their traditional interpretation could have told him through the Incarnation mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, have been reconciled,[3] and that through the Cross Christ has reconciled all things to Himself.[4] Lucifer's lying half-truth, the assertion of the justice of God's exaction of the penalty for sin,

---

1. Faustus, vi.564.
2. ibid., vi.636.
3. Psalms LXXXV.x.
4. Colossians I.xx.

omits the central fact of Christian history, the satisfying of God's justice through the Crucifixion. Lucifer misconstrues the facts in the same way as Faustus misconstrued the verses from the Epistles. The parade of the Seven Deadly Sins provides Faustus with new diabolic instruction and information, as does the visit the magician makes to Hell after the end of scene vi, but as King James pointed out in his discussion of scholar-magicians,

> their knowledge, for all that they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing evill, and the horrors of Hell for punishment thereof, ...
> Daemonologie, I.iii, p.11

The Chorus preceding the visit to the Papal Court describes Faustus' aerial journey, which had been undertaken to see the secrets of astronomy which Faustus has discovered three times already. The only fruitful lesson the heavens could have taught him was the excellence of redeemed humanity.[1] The poetry of the Chorus recaptures the wonder and expectation of discovery which had motivated Faustus' fall to magic. However, Faustus' recapitulation of the journey in scene viii suggests the vanity of the experience.

> We view'd the face of heaven, of earth and hell.
> So high our Dragons soar'd into the aire,
> That looking downe the earth appear'd to me,
> No bigger than my hand in quantity.
> There did we view the Kingdomes of the world,
> And what might please mine eye, I there beheld.
> viii.848-853

The triumphant soaring journey in the dragon-chariot, with its associations of both Medea and Phaëthon, suggests the apotheosis of the magician.[2] The recapitulation notes a view of the kingdoms of the world, the reward offered by the devil for worshipping him. Instead of hearing of "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them",[3] we hear that Faustus'

---

1. Faustus, vi.560.
2. On the desire for flight as a correlative of magical aspiration, see Levin, The Overreacher, pp.130,133-134,142.
3. AV, Matthew IV.viii.

reaction was a type of contemptus mundi, the earth appeared to him to be no bigger than his hand.[1]

In the episodes at the Papal and Imperial Courts, Faustus degenerates into a trickster. The spoiling of the Pope's banquet is pure slapstick. The ceremonialist is becoming a quack and a charlatan. Benvolio's description of Faustus, "he lookes as like a Conjurer as the Pope to a Coster-monger",[2] has more truth in it than is generally recognised. The raising of Alexander and his paramour is an apparition of shadows, not true substances.[3] The figures are impersonating spirits.[4] Thus the hope that magic could raise the dead[5] is proved illusory. Magic can only produce impersonations of the glories of the classical world. The set-piece in this context is the appearance of Helen. The scholars had arrived at their election of Helen as the most beautiful woman who ever lived by dispute.[6] This suggests an echo of one of the themes of the play - the fallacy of attempting to reach the transcendent by scholastic methods. The scholars describe Helen as the "only Paragon of excellence".[7] Faustus wants Helen to extinguish thoughts of repentance which were aroused by the Old Man who had again offered the stark choice between salvation and perdition, a choice which he admits may seem "harsh, and all unpleasant".[8] Mephostophilis' compliance with Faustus' request that the demon should produce Helen hints at the swiftly approaching damnation of the magician.

> This, or what else my Faustus shall desire,
> Shall be perform'd in twinkling of an eye.
> xvii.1766-1767

---

1. Compare Troilus' view of the earth from the eighth sphere of "This litel spot of erthe". Troilus and Criseyde, V.1815.
2. Faustus, xi.1228-1229.
3. ibid., xi.1259.
4. This explanation is in the EFB. Palmer and More, pp.195-196. The Emperor reflects on the case of the impersonating demon who appeared as the ghost of Samuel.
5. Faustus, i.53.
6. ibid., xvii.1681-1683.
7. ibid.,, xvii.1703.
8. ibid.,,xvii.1718. Cf. Faustus' rejection of divinity as "Unpleasant, harsh". i.136.

In the phrase "my Faustus" the demon begins to assume an air of ownership.[1] In the phrase "in twinkling of an eye" it is possible to detect the distant strains of the trumpet of the approaching day of wrath.[2] Helen, on the evidence of the shadows of Alexander and his paramour, is another impersonating demon, and Greg and Levin were correct in assessing Faustus' association with her as the sin of demoniality with a succubus.[3] Beautiful the apparition may be, but then so, said Mephostophilis, was Lucifer.[4]

Faustus begins the last night of his life with the conviction that he is damned. His last soliloquy reveals that he is still entangled in the delusions of magic. "Stand still you ever moving Spheares of heaven"[5] is an impotent conjuration. It is beyond his power, and always was beyond the power of the devil, to work a miracle.[6] Faustus' quotation from Ovid's

---

1. Contrast the earlier line "Made musicke with my Mephostophilis". Faustus, vi.581.
2. "... we shall all be changed, In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump". 1 Corinthians XV.li-lii.
3. W.W. Greg,"The Damnation of Faustus", MLR, 41 (1946). Reprinted in Dr Faustus, ed. Jump, pp.86-87. Levin, The Overreacher, p.148. This interpretation may be supported by some lines in Chapman's Bussy D'Ambois, in which I believe that Chapman was thinking of Faustus.
   " ... you will jest
   With God, and you your soul to the devil tender;
   For lust kiss horror, and with death engender"
   Bussy D'Ambois, ed. Lordi, III.ii.476-478.
4. Faustus, v.542.
5. ibid., xviii.1929.
6. Faustus here is surely trying to emulate the miracle worked by God for Joshua.
   "Then spake Joshua to the Lord in the day when the Lord delivered up the Amorites before the children of Israel, and he said in the sight of Israel, Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon; and thou, Moon, in the valley of Ajalon. And the sun stood still, and the moon stayed, ..."
   Joshua X.xii-xiii
   The staying of the sun was of course a true miracle which could only be performed by God. See Mason, Anatomie, p.16. Spenser describes the power of Fidelia (Faith) to work miracles.
   "And when she list poure out her larger spright,
   She would commaund the hastie Sunne to stay,
   Or backward turne his course from hight;"
   FQ, I.x.20.

Elegies, "O lente, lente currite noctis equi",[1] would have been understood, as Palmer notes, as another conjuration by some of the audience.[2] It is in the imperative mood of conjurations and uses their repetition of a command. I have suggested that magic could not properly conjure up the classical world for Faustus. Here classicism and magic cannot stay damnation. Faustus' imperious commands to mountains to move and the earth to gape produce no effect.[3] His next attempts are at transformation into air, the air that is motivated by spiritual beings when they assume bodies.[4] The stars could draw up air into the heavens.[5] Faustus is still hoping that the first impossible clause of the pact, transformation into a spiritual body, will be a means of escape.[6] The adders and scorpions, punishments in a material Hell, referred to at the end of the speech,[7] stress Faustus' corporeality. Faustus still evades

---

1. Faustus, xviii.1935.
2. D.J. Palmer, "Magic and Poetry in Dr Faustus", Critical Quarterly, 6 (1964). Reprinted in Christopher Marlowe, ed. Jump, p.201.
3. Faustus, xviii.1945ff. The specific allusions here are of course Biblical.
4. On the motivation of aerial bodies by spiritual beings, see above, p.154.
5. Faustus' claim that these same stars caused his damnation (xviii.1950-51) shows him harbouring another magical delusion, astrological determinism. Agrippa says that astrologers are not ashamed to teach such heresies as that the stars have influence over the efficacy of prayers and the life to come. Among the heresies of a group of astrologers including Peter of Abano and Roger Bacon, is the belief that a man born with Saturn well-placed in Leo will go to heaven. Vanitie of Artes, xxxi, f.49.
6. A further irony is that at the Last Judgement, a form of which Faustus is facing, the bodies of men will be changed. 1 Corinthians XV.lii-liii.
7. Faustus, xviii.1980.

personal responsibility, the recognition of which as a prelude to repentance is his only hope of salvation. His fate was his parents' fault.[1] The penultimate line in the speech, "Ugly hell gape not; come not Lucifer",[2] is an inversion of conjuration. The magician who thought that he could command devils to ascend now desperately commands them not to appear.

The quiet coda of the play is performed by the scholars and the Chorus. The storm in which Faustus died was the worst since the Creation.[3] The thunders were after all those of the Day of Judgement for a man who fell through eating from the Tree of Knowledge and who refused Redemption through the Second Adam. The Chorus recites the epicedium of a scholar who fell to magic.

> Cut is the branch that might have growne full straight,
> And burned is Apollo's Lawrell bough,
> Chorus 4, 2002-2003

To the last, the play's language conceals Scripture under classicism. Christ promised that the tree that did not bear fruit should be cut down and cast into the fire.[4] Faustus rejected the reality of personal choice and salvation for the illusory rewards of magic. By an inexorable process in which he chose to involve himself, the only reality attainable by him at the end of the play is damnation.

---

1. Faustus, xviii.1972.
2. ibid., xviii.1981.
3. ibid., xix.1984-1985.
4. Matthew VII.xix.

Marlowe's Dr Faustus, it has been suggested, is a portrait of a magician entangled in the self-delusions and illusions of magic. I would suggest that Shakespeare's The Tempest may also be seen as treating of the illusions of scholarly magic. A considerable body of criticism of the play has emphasised the figure of Prospero "the benevolent Magus".[1] It relates the activities of Prospero to the writings of Neoplatonic philosophers and of Cornelius Agrippa, and suggests that Prospero's actions are the benign, blameless, holy and successful operations of a "white magician". That is to say, Shakespeare intends Prospero to be seen as Agrippa sees his sacerdotal adept in the third book of the De Occulta, a work frequently cited in criticisms of this school.[2] Kermode describes Prospero as a theurgist, a holy adept practising a benevolent art, commanding the daemones of Neoplatonism and dealing with spirits high in the scale of goodness.[3] Curry also saw Prospero as a theurgist of the highest rank and thought that Shakespeare "had access in some way" to Marsilio Ficino's edition of Proclus and Iamblichus. Prospero, after his rejection of magic, attempts to be assimilated to the gods.[4] More recently Miss Yates has seen Prospero as a good Magus with a reforming mission, working on the lines of the De Occulta, and has suggested that Prospero is a complimentary picture of John Dee. Miss Yates also suggests that influence of a passage in the Hermetic works on the awakening of Hermione in The Winter's Tale, V.iii, and a possible association of Shakespeare with the Rosicrucian movement.[5]

My examination of The Tempest will not proceed along these lines. I have found no reason to suppose that Shakespeare had read the De Occulta, although I have suggested that Marlowe knew the book. Neither do I think that Shakespeare was influenced by Iamblichus or

---

1. Yates, Giordano Bruno, p.357.
2. See, for example, Hardin Craig, "Magic in The Tempest", PQ, 47 (1968), p.8-15.
3. The Tempest (New Arden ed.), Introduction, especially pp.xxv,xl-xli,xlvii.
4. Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns, especially pp.166,169,188,196.
5. Shakespeare's Last Plays, p.87ff.

the Corpus Hermetica. In fact I do not share the assumption that in Prospero Shakespeare is giving us an enthusiastic picture of an Agrippan ceremonialist. Instead of referring to the writings of Agrippa, I would look for illumination on specifically magical material in the play in books which we may reasonably assume that Shakespeare had definitely read, King James' Daemonologie and Scot's Discoverie. I shall also suggest that plays prior to The Tempest, written by Shakespeare himself, can illuminate aspects of the play.

It has been noted above[1] that Shakespeare knew of the Daemonologie and drew on it for Macbeth. I suggest that this book, especially in its discussion of scholar-magicians, also influenced the depiction of Prospero.[2] James says that the word "Magie" in Persian means a contemplator of heavenly science.[3] The devil is often in attendance on magicians in the form of a page. The devil can make men believe that the spirits fell into the four elements and remained there. The spirits that fell into fire and air are truer than the others.[4] King James also mentions the great agility of spirits, an agility which enables them to carry banquets from the furthest parts of the world. The devil can produce illusory impressions in the air of castles and forts.[5] In The Tempest Prospero is constantly attended by a spirit who is associated with the elements,[6] and especially, because of its name, with the air. It obeys the magician's commands with great swiftness. Spirits, by the design of the magician, produce a banquet.[7] Prospero's masque presents a vision of towers and palaces which melt into air.[8]

---

1. See above, p.94ff.
2. Jacqueline E.M. Latham has recently proposed the Daemonologie as a source for The Tempest and notes many of the resemblances I suggest in my discussion. "The Tempest and King James's Daemonologie", Shakespeare Survey, 28 (1975), pp.117-123.
3. Daemonologie, I.iii, p.8.
4. ibid., I.vi, p.20.
5. ibid., I.vi, pp.21-22.
6. The Tempest, I.ii.189-190, 252-255.
7. ibid., III.iii.
8. ibid., IV.i. 151-156.

As to the nature of Ariel, a subject which has also sent commentators to the works of Agrippa,[1] Reginald Scot, in the Discourse upon divels appended to the Discoverie, gives the opinion of Psellus on the nature of spirits. Like King James, Scot mentions the theory that spirits are elemental. Psellus thought that spirits could feel pain and that they lament when they are stricken. The spirits of air have their habitation near us, and they can sometimes be seen with streams of fire shining at their tails. Aquatic spirits "raise tempests, and drowne seafaring men".[2] Some men assume that spirits can take whatever shape they please.[3] Many affirm that

> spirits are of the aier, bicause they have been cut ... in sunder, and closed presentlie againe; ...
> Discourse upon divels, xviii, p.517

Ariel, disguised as a harpy, tells Alonso's party, who have drawn their swords

> I and my fellows
> Are ministers of Fate; the elements
> Of whom your swords are temper'd may as well
> Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd at stabs
> Kill the still-closing waters, ...
> III.iii.60-64

The image of the waters immediately closing is close to the idea of the aerial body immediately re-uniting.

I have suggested that Shakespeare need not have drawn on Agrippan works in writing The Tempest so that it may be possible to put on one side the idea of Prospero the holy and benevolent Agrippan adept. Before an examination of The Tempest itself is attempted, it is worth noting two incidents in other Shakespearean plays which I believe can cast light on The Tempest.

At the end of As You Like It the disguised Rosalind suddenly promises Orlando that through the power of magic she will bring Rosalind to him.

---

1. "Ariel" is the name of the ruler of the element of earth in a table in the De Occulta. See A. Koszul, "Ariel", English Studies, 19 (1937), pp.200-204.
2. Discourse upon divels, iii, pp.493-494.
3. ibid., xvii, p.516.

> Believe then, if you please, that I can do strange things. I have, since I was three years old, convers'd with a magician, most profound in his art, and yet not damnable. If you do love Rosalind so near the heart as your gesture cries it out, when your brother marries Aliena shall you marry her.
>
> As You Like It, V.ii.56ff.

In The Winter's Tale Paulina tells Leontes that she can make the statue of Hermione move, but is afraid that he will think she is assisted by wicked powers. To the accompaniment of music the statue descends and Leontes cries

> If this be magic, let it be an art
> Lawful as eating.
>
> The Winter's Tale, V.iii.110-111

Both Rosalind and Paulina know that in the general way of things the magic arts are highly suspicious. These passages are sometimes cited to suggest that Shakespeare considered some branches of magical operation blameless. The point I wish to make about both passages is that the magic in both cases is a fiction and conceals the tricks of both Rosalind and Paulina. The resolutions of both plays are brought about by a trick concealed as magic.

The Tempest, I suggest, works out in its action a rejection of the illusions of magic. Unlike Faustus, Prospero has no commerce with demons,[1] and signs no pact. As West notes,[2] Shakespeare keeps his dramatic world in The Tempest secular and so in its own terms comparatively free from close scrutiny by strict and orthodox criteria of all magic as damnable. However in this secular context the operation of magic is shown to be a delusion by the limited effects it can produce and its nature as the antithesis of reality.

> Like Faustus, Prospero is a scholar who turned to

---

1. That is, if we do not apply the strictly orthodox idea that all spirits are either angels or devils.
2. "Ceremonial Magic in The Tempest" in Shakespearean Essays, ed. Thaler and Sanders, p.65.

magic. Prospero's transition from the quest for knowledge to magic is understated. He says of himself,

> And Prospero the prime duke, being so reputed
> In dignity, and for the liberal arts
> Without a parallel, those being all my study -
> The government I cast upon my brother
> And to my state grew stranger, being transported
> And rapt in secret studies.
> I.ii.72-77

Whereas Faustus was a private individual, responsible only to himself and, as the Good Angel constantly reminds him, to God, Shakespeare's scholar was also a duke. There is an opposition between the secret studies and the responsibilities of a dukedom. The pursuit of knowledge can lead to isolation and a consequent abandoning of duty.

> I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
> To closeness ...
> I.ii.89-90

In contrast to Faustus' hopes of widening horizons of knowledge and power, it is suggested that Prospero's studies had the effect of circumscribing his range of action. His world is contracted to the space of a library. Perhaps there is an intensified restatement of one of the major themes of Love's Labours Lost in the opposition between learning and "real life", the learning of Prospero being of a more suspicious kind than that of the court of Navarre. Prospero says of Gonzalo,

> Knowing I lov'd my books, he furnish'd me
> From mine own library with volumes that
> I prize above my dukedom.
> I.ii.166-168

The verb "prize" is in the present tense and one realises that Prospero still has his priorities wrong. His isolation has also increased on the island. The social estrangement of the aristocrats of earlier Shakespearean plays is also intensified, and Prospero's engagement in a secluded pursuit of secrets has led to an usurper seizing Milan.

Later in I.ii we are given a history of Sycorax. If a complete opposition is made between the arts of

Sycorax, which are indisputably evil, and those of Prospero, we may miss a similarity. Both are magical practitioners expelled with their lives preserved, and both travel by sea to the same island on which both bring up a child. The causal link between magic and expulsion is obvious in the case of the witch, but it was also the study of magic that precipitated the chain of action which resulted in Prospero's physical isolation. So when Faustus and Prospero have fallen from philosophy to magic, Faustus is estranged from God, Prospero from society.

Prospero is thus at the beginning of the play isolated on an island inhabited by himself, his daughter, a monster whose parents were a witch and a devil, and various spirits. On the island he carries on his magical operations. Put crudely, he would have all well with the world, but the play demonstrates, I suggest, that magic cannot bring about the transformations of reality Prospero wishes. He attempts to control the various personages on the island as if they were all spirits under his command. Prospero can control Setebos, Sycorax's god[1] and Caliban himself. Ariel too is coerced into doing his bidding. There is for most of the play a confusion amongst the characters as to whether the beings they encounter are men or spirits. Miranda thinks that Ferdinand is a spirit,[2] Ferdinand Miranda a goddess.[3] Caliban thinks that Trinculo is a spirit,[4] Stephano a god.[5] Stephano takes the quaking under the gaberdine for a devil.[6] Alonso thinks Prospero an illusion.[7] The characters occupy different positions on the scale between near-humanity and incorporeal substance. Caliban is the offspring of a witch and a devil and presumably basically human although monstrous.[8] At

---

1. The Tempest, I.ii.372-374.
2. ibid., I.ii.409.
3. ibid., I.ii.421-422.
4. ibid., II.ii.14-15.
5. ibid., II.ii.109.
6. ibid., II.ii.91.
7. ibid., V.i.111-113.
8. Treatise-writers note the opinion that the devil cannot generate and the offspring is technically the child of the man whose seed was stolen by the succubus. See Daemonologie, III.iii.

the other end of the scale is the elemental Ariel who is, although a spiritual substance, passible.[1] Prospero's illusion is that he can manipulate these various categories of being, and indeed humanity itself, as if they were all spirits under his command.

Prospero attempts in the play to use magic to create in an unreal microcosm an ideal world. The motif of an ideal commonwealth is one which recurs in the play. Gonzalo takes up the theme in II.i, "Had I the plantation of this isle, my lord",[2] and goes on to paint a picture of an utopian state, fertile, peaceful and innocent. The impediments to the establishment of such a state are immediately apparent in the sarcastic asides of Antonio and Sebastian. Among Gonzalo's companions are two future conspirators. The intrigues of Stephano and Trinculo with Caliban manifest the same theme. Caliban swears allegiance to the Neapolitans in return for their heavenly liquor.[3] I suggest that the relationship of Stephano, Trinculo and Caliban provides an ironic parallel to the relationship of Prospero with Caliban.[4] Stephano gives Caliban a bottle to teach him language. This echoes the fact that Prospero had tried to educate Caliban, and Miranda to teach him language.[5] Caliban offers the Neapolitans the services Prospero demands of him. In Caliban's vow

> I'll show thee every fertile inch o'th'island; and I will kiss thy foot: I prithee, be my god.
> II.ii.138-139

there is a breathtaking ascent in the implied relationships from master-servant to sovereign-subject, with perhaps a deeper submission in an allusion to kissing the Papal foot, to god-worshipper. Now I think that the initial reaction to the Caliban-Stephano relationship is an instinctive assumption that Caliban's homage ought to have been offered to

---

1. The Tempest, I.ii.280.
2. ibid., II.i.137.
3. ibid., II.ii.116-117.
4. ibid., II.ii.78.
5. ibid., I.ii.345ff.

Prospero. But should Caliban have worshipped Prospero? I suggest that the comic material obliquely points to the hubris of Prospero's attempt to reform Caliban by means of learned magic. It is after Prospero has renounced his magic that we experience the most convincing hope that the monster will amend.

> ... and I'll be wise hereafter,
> And seek for grace.
> V.i.294-295

and the first moment of genuine admiration is for Prospero the man in his ducal robes, not the magician in the garment of his Art.[1]

With Ferdinand and Miranda Prospero's plans go smoothly. As he intended, they fall in love and instead of the rift between the families the magician produces a new harmony. This is of course a "natural" rather than a supernatural phenomenon. I would interpret the marriage-masque in IV.i as the magician's attempt to extend his success into a wider sphere. The particular promises of fruitfulness and peace in Ferdinand's hope for "quiet days, fair issue and long life"[2] are expanded into the speeches and songs of the spirits describing the fecundity of nature. The Golden Age theme is realised in the song of Ceres.[3] The spirits' language also echoes Gonzalo's vision of the ideal commonwealth. In the middle of the masque the following interchange takes place between Ferdinand and Prospero.

> Fer. This is a most majestic vision, and
> Harmonious charmingly. May I be bold
> To think these spirits?
> Pro. Spirits, which by mine art
> I have from their confines call'd to enact
> My present fancies.
> Fer. Let me live here ever;
> So rare a wond'red father and a wise
> Makes this place Paradise.
> IV.i.118-124

Here Prospero admits that the vision is merely an entertainment and a dramatic illusion enacted by spirits. His magic has created a show. The goddesses are in fact

---

1. The Tempest, V.i.262.
2. ibid., IV.i.24.
3. ibid., IV.i.110ff.

no more substantial than the shadows of Alexander and his paramour in Faustus.[1] The masque continues, and ends with a dance of reapers and nymphs. Now in this dance Ferdinand and Miranda would shortly be expected to join, for it is their marriage-masque, and the reality of their harmonious love would be intermingled with the illusory appearances which are Prospero's magical and wished-for extension of his operations. The human and the spirit worlds, reality and illusion, would be further confused. The masque is broken by a recollection of the realities of human nature. Prospero remembers the conspiracy of Caliban whom, in spite of the power of his magic, Prospero has failed to improve. Prospero realises the illusory nature of the magical masque.

> These our actors,
> As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
> Are melted into air, into thin air;
> And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
> The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
> The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
> Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,
> And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
> Leave not a rack behind.
> IV.i.148-156

Spirits cause illusions by images in the air to deceive the sight of men. I have suggested that King James' description of castles and forts in the air may lie behind the towers and palaces in Prospero's speech. King James goes on to insist that such appearances produced by demonic agency for magicians

> are but impressions in the aire, easelie gathered by a spirite, drawing so neare to that substance himselfe:...

King James goes on,

> And yet are all these thinges but deluding of the senses, and no waies true in substaunce, ...
> Daemonologie, I.vi, p.22

---

1. The lines

> "Spirits, which by mine art
> I have from their confines call'd, ..."

echo the sense of Glendower's "spirits from the vasty deep" which was followed by Hotspur's scepticism about the realities of the powers of magic. 1 Henry IV, III.i.53-55.

Pharaoh's magicians and the distinction between true and false miracles are then mentioned. Prospero's spirits vanish into the air, the very medium of their illusions. Prospero recognises the vision of an ideal, which he has created, as an illusion effected with the aid of spirits. The illusions of magic are realised in terms of the illusions of the theatre - the spirits were acting. The vision of the ideal world is only a performance. The "magical" resolutions of As You Like It and The Winter's Tale are no longer satisfactory to the dramatist. A.D. Nuttall's excellent phrase "an intuition of a regress of fictions"[1] is a masterly description of the process taking place.

In Act V Prospero gradually becomes less a magician and more a man. Alonso's party is still at his mercy. Ariel describes their plight.

> Ari. You charm so strongly works 'em
> That if you now beheld them your affections
> Would become tender.
> Pro. Dost thou think so, spirit?
> Ari. Mine would, sir, were I human.
> Pro. And mine shall,
> Hast thou, which art but air, a touch, a feeling
> Of their afflictions, and shall not myself
> One of their kind, that relish all as sharply
> Passion as they, be kindlier mov'd than thou art?
> V.i.17-24

Here the distinction between the human and spirit worlds is clearly made. The words "spirit" and "human" in the interchange are in prominent positions of emphasis at the ends of lines in the verse. Prospero realises not only his allegiance to the world of men but also the difference between the men he has manipulated as if they were spirits and the spirit who may feel something of human affliction.[2] Prospero abjures his rough magic and destroys the instruments of his magic. Ariel brings Alonso's party into the circle

---

1. Two Concepts of Allegory, p.146.
2. With this contrast Faustus' illusory belief that he can become a spirit. See above, pp.272-273,278.

that the magician has made, but now instead of treating them as if they were spirits, Prospero has them enclosed in a circle only to release them, just as he will shortly release Ariel. Prospero will tell no tales of the conspirators whose company he must join on the voyage home to Milan. Miranda's exclamation,

> O brave new world
> That hath such people in't!

is answered by Prospero's quiet and accepting "'Tis new to thee".[1] He will return to the world from which he isolated himself by magical studies, accepting its reality, a reality which includes the untransmutable nature of the conspirators.

The play's epilogue is spoken by a magician who has abandoned his art. He appeals for the same release which he has given to the other characters and to his spirit. The epilogue also appeals to an audience to renounce its own magic, for the illusion of the performance is over. Prospero will return to Milan not as a magician, but a man who has renounced the illusions of his Art.

Both Faustus and The Tempest have been considered as manifesting the idea that the operations of magicians are self-delusions. Macbeth, it is suggested, shows a man involving himself in the uncertainties and delusions of supernatural evil. In the first scene of the play the witches announce the theme of the delusory nature of evil.

> Fair is foul, and foul is fair:
> Hover through the fog and filthy air.
> Macbeth, I.i.10-11

These lines are usually noted as a statement of one of the main themes of the play, the reversal of values and the inversion of good into evil. In this

---

1. The Tempest, V.i.183-184.

sense they make a monstrous and false equation between opposites. There is another interpretation possible. The adjectives are descriptive of appearances and may be glossed "What appears foul is really fair" and vice versa. The ambiguities go deeper, for in this second and underlying sense the statement is potentially true or false. At the beginning of the play the powers of supernatural evil are not so much paltering with a double sense, as with a quadruple one, for the equation of opposites conceals the underlying statement about appearances. The ambiguities in the first line of the couplet find a correlative in the second line. The air on the heath, through which the witches ride, is obscure and obscuring. Interestingly King James thought that the devil might cause witches to be invisible during transvection by manipulating the air.

> ... why may he not far easilier thicken & obscure so the air, that is next about them by contracting it strait together, that the beames of any other mans eyes, cannot pearce thorow the same, to see them?
>
> Daemonologie, II.iv, p.39

Witches do not really make themselves invisible, the devil obscures men's sight.

Macbeth and Banquo, on their first meeting with the witches, are immediately faced with ambiguities of the Weird Sisters. Are they human? Are they alive? Will they answer questions?[1] It is Banquo, who is unconvinced of their reality, who enquires about their nature. He also knows that enquiries made to them may be unlawful.[2] The witches avoid

---

1. Macbeth, I.iii.42-43.
2. Banquo is following the advice of the Epistle, "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God". 1 John IV.i. This verse is quoted by Lavater in a chapter warning that we ought to be circumspect about apparitions. Of Ghostes, III.viii, p.203.

Macbeth's question as to their nature and salute him with fair promises.[1] They are in fact answering Macbeth's unspoken desires, desires of the kind Banquo suggested might be unlawful. Banquo is surprised at Macbeth's reaction.

> Good sir, why do you start, and seem to fear
> Things that do sound so fair? I'th'name of truth,
> Are ye fantastical, or that indeed
> Which outwardly ye show?
> I.iii.51-54

Banquo is still pursuing the nature of the apparition, half-convinced that it is an illusion. His later avowal of neither fear nor a wish to hear of any promises, conjoined with a healthy scepticism about the apparition, may be compared with Lavater's advice to the Christian encountering spirits.

> ... if they be wycked and evyll, they can do us no harme be they never so desirous, excepte God give them leave thereto. If it be nothing but a vayne imagination that we have, or an idle sight objected unto our eyes, surely it is a great follie to be any thing afraid.
> Of Ghostes, III.v, p.191

Banquo displays an impeccable orthodoxy in his knowledge of the limited means of probable conjecture by which the powers of evil may have prescience.[1] The witches' answers to Banquo are riddling and ambiguous, as might be expected of utterances by agents of the power of darkness. The first half of each statement, e.g., "Not so happy" is the foul, giving way to the second and fairer half, "yet much happier". The juggling with words continues to

---

1. Lavater warns against spirits which flatter and speak fair. Of Ghostes, III.vii, p.196.
2. Macbeth, I.iii.58-59. Curry quotes Thomas Aquinas' formulation of the theory of limited prescience. Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns, p.46ff. Shakespeare would have read in the King's treatise of the limited means by which the devil may know the future, including his ability to "judge by like-lihood of thinges to come". Daemonologie, I.i, pp.4-5. See also Perkins, Discourse, III.i, p.56ff.

the end of the witches' utterances, as the last of their exclamations, "Banquo and Macbeth, all hail!", inverts the structure of the preceding line.[1] Macbeth's eager "Stay, you imperfect speakers"[2] reveals the fact that the utterances have been unsatisfactory and have whetted his appetite for more. His last line to the witches, "Speak, I charge you", results in their disappearance. As the nature of the apparition is as yet undetermined, I would suggest that Macbeth is using the language of conjuration and adjuring sullen spirits to answer questions fully. With a fine irony, the adjuration produces not a fuller answer but the disappearance of the apparition. In the play, Macbeth's search for certainty and assurance from the supernatural will be continually frustrated. Banquo's explanation of the disappearance of the witches, it has been suggested, was influenced by Le Loyer.[3] He correctly remains uninvolved in any personal relationship with them.

Rosse's subsequent announcement that Macbeth has become Thane of Cawdor provokes from Banquo another manifestation of his healthy orthodoxy. "What, can the devil speak true?".[4] Banquo has now run the course of all the possible explanations of the incident on the heath. The confirmation of the prophecy by events means that only demonic agency could have provoked it. Banquo's line is of course prompted by a knowledge that the devil is the Father of Lies. His final deduction, again proper, is that the devil never tells the truth for its own sake.

> ... oftentimes to win us to our harm,
> The instruments of darkness tell us truths,
> Win us with honest trifles, to betray's
> In deepest consequence.[5]
> I.iii.123-126

---

1. Macbeth, I.iii.68-69.
2. ibid., I.iii.70.
3. See above, p.97.
4. Macbeth, I.iii.107.
5. Cf. King James, "he oblices himself in some trifles to them, that he may on the other part obteine the fruition of their body & soule, which is the onlie thing he huntes for". Daemonologie, I.iii, p.9.

In the moment before the thought of murdering Duncan begins to be entertained seriously by Macbeth, Banquo has identified the incident on the heath as demonic and treacherous. He has, by the application of a proper and orthodox suspicion, discerned all the possibilities of illusion inherent in the apparition.

Macbeth's "supernatural soliciting" speech shows him to be unwilling and unable to differentiate between reality and illusion.

> This supernatural soliciting
> Cannot be ill; cannot be good.
> I.iii.130-131

The couplet makes the same kind of monstrous equation as the "fair and foul" lines of the witches. Macbeth is saying that the utterances of the Weird Sisters are both good and bad, or neither. His terms of appraisal are not objective and orthodox as are those of Banquo. Banquo reacted to the apparition as a phenomenon. Macbeth, in his use of the word "soliciting", reacted to it as a personal approach which has obviously been working on his imagination. Macbeth's imagination is receptive to a number of impressions whose nature is difficult to define precisely. The "image" of the murdered Duncan is before him. Now the devil can abuse the fantasy,[1] so the picture of the dead king may be an interior or exterior diabolic impression. On the other hand, the image may be a delusion with natural causes.[2] Macbeth will be increasingly unable to distinguish the real, the strange but natural, and the strange and supernatural.

The forces of supernatural evil gather over Macbeth's castle in II.i. Banquo's dreams are disturbed. Again the nature of the psychic disturbance is enigmatic.

---

1. Jorgensen notes this fact, citing Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. Our Naked Frailties, p.17.
2. For natural explanations of strange sights, see Lavater, Of Ghostes, I.ii-v; Le Loyer, Treatise of Specters, x.

> Merciful powers
> Restrain in me the cursed thoughts that nature
> Gives way to in repose!
> II.i.7-9

The essential point here is the disturbance of the thoughts and not its exact nature. Curry thought that Banquo was appealing to a division of the angelic hierarchy to protect him from demonic illusions.[1] It is also possible that Banquo's dreams were natural disturbances and a case might be made for the view that he has a premonition of impending evil.[2] Whatever their nature Banquo appeals for divine protection against the phantasms or fantasies of the night. Again, in contrast to Banquo, Macbeth's reaction to enigmatic phenomena is personal, accepting and uncertain. The dagger is possibly an hallucination caused by a disturbed fantasy,[3] but Macbeth's description of the apparition as a "fatal vision" reveals him attributing a personal significance to the illusion, as does "Thou marshall'st me the way I was going".[4] The noises that Macbeth hears in

---

1. Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns, p.81.
2. On varieties of dreams, natural, divine and diabolic, see Perkins, Discourse, III.ii, pp.93-104.
3. Curry thought the apparition of the dagger to be caused by demonic agency. Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns, p.84. The complexities of the theories of apparitions allow for three possibilities. The dagger may be an "imagination" produced naturally by the guilty Macbeth. It may be an imagination produced by demonic interference with natural faculties. It may also be an impression in the air produced by demonic agency. In every case the apparition is false. On the "feares of notorious malefactours" see Le Loyer, Treatise of Specters, xi, ff.111v-112v. On demonic interference with the internal senses, ibid., xii, f.123v. On impressions in the air, see Daemonologie, I.vi, p.22. I agree with West that we can never be sure about the phenomena in Macbeth. West, "Night's Black Agents in Macbeth", Renaissance Papers (1956), p.22. I am trying to suggest that the uncertainty about strange phenomena is integral to the play.
4. Macbeth, II.i.42.

II.ii, the voice and knockings, are similarly open to various interpretations.[1] The point that I wish to make is that Macbeth's uncertainty as to the phenomena he experiences may be seen as the result of allowing the deluding promises of the witches to act on his imagination. His involvement with the deluding and illusory powers of supernatural evil has made him subject to the uncertainties and illusions of strange phenomena.

The appearance of a spectre like the murdered Banquo is terrifying not so much because it is, or may be, a ghost, but because Macbeth is unsure what it is. Lady Macbeth attempts entirely rational explanations. The most obvious explanation of

> My lord is often thus
> And hath been from his youth: ...
> The fit is momentary;
> III.iii.53-55

is that Lady Macbeth is trying to excuse her husband's strange behaviour by pretending to hint that his wits are deranged in some way.[2] Madmen see strange things.[3] Her reference to such things as "A woman's story" echoes the rationalism of the eye of childhood fearing a painted devil.[4] Macbeth's uncertainty as to the nature of strange phenomena becomes a source of terror to him. He obviously thinks that the apparition in the shape of Banquo may be an impersonating spirit, for it might have taken any shape.[5] Souls of the dead, if they appear, which is

---

1. Le Loyer explains the occurrence of strange noises, including bells and echoes by corruption of the senses and the imagination. Treatise of Specters, vii, ff.68-70v; ix, ff.92v-94v.
2. Cf. Macbeth's pretending to a strange infirmity. III.iii.86.
3. See Lavater, I.ii, pp.9-13; Le Loyer, x, ff.102-104. Like Lady Macbeth, Le Loyer notes that madmen "have intermissions and times of vacancie from their fits or maladie of madnesse", f.103v. On the propensity of lunatics to see devils see A Midsummer Night's Dream, V.i.4-9.
4. I suspect that both are drawn from Le Loyer. The "painted devil" allusion has been noted above, p.98. Le Loyer notes that women are naturally subject to fears, xi, 106v-107.
5. Macbeth, III.iv.100-101.

rarely, retain their own shapes. Spirits assume various shapes, including the appearances of the dead. Macbeth exclaims

> Hence, horrible shadow!
> Unreal mock'ry, hence!
> III.iv.106-107

The ironies dependent on the nature of the apparition are complex. If the phantasm is unreal there is no point in adjuring it. Although the apparition looks like Banquo, the words "unreal mock'ry" suggest that it is in fact demonic and mockingly impersonating the soul of the dead man. Macbeth is disturbed by the apparition and resolves to seek assurance from the witches.

> And betimes I will to the Weird Sisters:
> More shall they speak; for now I am bent to know
> By the worst means the worst.
> III.iv.133-135

Macbeth knows that to consult witches is unlawful.[1] What he does not realise is that to consult agents of the powers of darkness on matters they have been possibly instrumental in bringing about is to try to elucidate obscurum per obscurius. "More shall they speak" resolves Macbeth about beings whom he had before termed "imperfect speakers". King James commenting on the visit of Saul to the Witch of Endor, an episode which I believe influenced the cauldron-scene, says that God will not allow the devil to deceive His prophets, but

> only such, as first wilfully deceives themselves, by running unto him, whome God then suffers to fall in their owne snares, and justlie permittes them to be illuded with great efficacy of deceit, ...
> Daemonologie, I.i, p.4

Having prepared the cauldron, the Witches expect the arrival of Macbeth. The Second Witch

---

1. Cf. King James' opinion that to consult witches is equal to being a witch oneself. Daemonologie, I.vii, p.26.

detects his approach by the pricking of her thumbs, a detail Shakespeare may have found in Scot.[1] Macbeth immediately demands answers.

> I conjure you, by that which you profess -
> How e'er you came to knowledge of it - answer me.
> IV.i.50-51

The form of words, an imperious command and adjuration by an appeal to a source of power is reminiscent (and no more[2]) of a conjurer's adjuration to spirits. Macbeth attempts to compel the witches who in turn attempt to compel spirits.[3] When the spirits are raised they prove, like the witches, to be imperfect speakers. Both the witches and the spirits interrupt the questions before they are properly formulated. The First Witch even admits that the First Apparition will not be commanded.[4] The Second Apparition gives the deluding promise that no man born of woman can kill Macbeth.[5] Macbeth resolves to make assurance double sure by killing the Thane of Fife. The assurance is illusory. Consultation with the powers of evil is subject to the law of diminishing returns. The more Macbeth seeks for assurance the more he is deluded. The show of eight Kings and the apparition of Banquo I believe to be the equivalent of the raising of Samuel in I Samuel XXVIII. The spectres and Banquo are impersonating spirits.[6] The message of ultimate failure is the same as that given by the apparition in the shape of Samuel who foretold the victory of

---

1. Macbeth, IV.i.44. Although Steevens noted that sudden pains were thought to presage something about to happen (cited Variorum Macbeth, pp.252-253), I do not believe that anyone has yet noticed a detail in Scot's discussion of omens which mentions prognostication by "the tingling in the finger". Discoverie, XI.xiii.
2. I follow West in disagreeing with Paul who thought Macbeth was a conjurer. "Night's Black Agents", p.20.
3. In both cases the notion that the powers of evil may be commanded is an illusion. Daemonologie, I.iii, p.9.
4. Macbeth, IV.i.75.
5. ibid., IV.i.79-81.
6. The theory that the apparitions are demons need not be impeded by the notion that James would object to his ancestors being impersonated by demons. The King, in his discussion of the Witch of Endor and Samuel, had written that the devil can impersonate even the saints of God. Daemonologie, I.i, p.4.

the Philistines.[1] Macbeth's search for assurances from the supernatural powers in the play again leaves him uncertain and frustrated.

In the last act of the play the delusions of magic are revealed for what they are. The reports of the approaching armies provoke from Macbeth the self-assurance

> The spirits that know
> All mortal consequences have pronounc'd me thus:
> "Fear not Macbath; no man that's born of woman
> Shall e'er have power upon thee".
> V.iii.4-7

The form of Macbeth's assurance demonstrates the inherent nature of the deception. Spirits cannot know anything absolutely about the future, as Banquo knew. The "foul" undermeanings of the "fair" promises gradually emerge. At the news of the moving trees, Macbeth begins to doubt "th'equivocation of the fiend".[2] The final disillusionment occurs when Macbeth meets Macduff. Macbeth is still convinced that the words of the spirits may be true.

> Macb. Thou losest labour.
> As easy mayst thou the intrenchant air
> With thy keen sword impress as make me bleed.
> Let fall thy blade on vulnerable crests;
> I bear a charmed life, which must not yield
> To one of woman born.
> Macd. Despair thy charm;
> And let the angel whom thou still hast serv'd
> Tell thee Macduff was from his mother's womb
> Untimely ripp'd.
> Macb. Accursed be that tongue that tells me so,
> For it hath cow'd my better part of man;
> And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd
> That palter with us in a double sense,
> That keep the word of promise to our ear
> And break it to our hope!
> V.viii.8-22

---

1. 1 Samuel XXVIII.xix.
2. Muir, in the Arden edition of Macbeth (p.155) notes that Scot mentions "words of equivocation" in Discoverie, XIII.xv.

Initially Macbeth is confident that the promises of evil will be fulfilled. In his boast of invulnerability he seems to share the delusion of Faustus that it is possible for the human body to become the aerial body of a spirit.[1] Macduff's description of the devil that assured Macbeth that he could not be killed as an angel irresistibly suggests that Biblical locus classicus on the ability of the devil to delude and the foul to appear fair, the power of the devil to appear as an angel of light in 2 Corinthians XI.xiv. Significantly King James had cited this verse in connection with the demonic impersonation of Samuel the prophet.[2] Macbeth at last realises the illusions practised on him. The fiends are jugglers, the metaphor popular, as has been seen in the introduction to this chapter, with treatise-writers for the deceits of the devil. The passage on equivocation in the Discoverie, just noticed, is in the section of Scot's work treating juggling. Macbeth's final and true realisation is the discrepancy of the delusory nature of demonic promises. The "fair" appearance is ultimately discovered to conceal a "foul" reality a few moments before the death of the man whom it had deluded.

R.H. West, in commenting on The Witch of Edmonton by Dekker, Ford and Rowley, notes that Mother Sawyer is cheated and cozened and that the play is tinged with pity for the witch.[3] In my examination of the play I shall suggest that our sympathies for the witch are aroused by two factors. The first is that she has been deluded by the devil, whose nature the play suggests is to trick and to delude. The second,

---

1. I am merely suggesting that this is a fantasy of Macbeth's, not that his body had in any way become aerial.
2. Daemonologie, I.i, p.4.
3. Invisible World, pp.144-145.

a form of limited rationalism, is the idea that evil working "naturally" in the hearts of men is as bad, or almost as bad, as the supernatural evil in witchcraft.

At the end of Henry Goodcole's pamphlet the author, commenting on the fact that the devil came to Mother Sawyer when she was cursing, refers to the devil not as the fallen angel who can work wonders, but as the instigator of sin.

> The Divell rageth, and mallice reigneth in the hearts of many. ... Stand on your guard and watch with sobrietie to resist him, the Divell your adversary, who waiteth on you continually, to subvert you; ...
>
> Wonderfull Discoverie, D3-D3v

Goodcole is obviously referring to the verse in the Epistle,

> Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour.
>
> 1 Peter V.viii

This verse could be cited in witchcraft-treatises as a reference to the power of the devil to seduce witches.[1] Yet even in a treatise on witchcraft it could also be cited as evidence of the morally destructive force of the devil. Gifford's character Daniel says that while devils are about "the greatest things", such as stirring up tyrants, causing hatred between man and wife and contention between brothers, they like to seem "but meane fellowes" busying themselves with spoiling the churning of butter or killing cows. Then as evidence of the continual moral assaults of the devil Gifford quotes 1 Peter V.viii.[2] Gifford, in the Dialogue, often emphasizes the power of the devil to cause sin, rather than his strange and inexplicable operations. The devil's kingdom is in the darkness and corruption of sin.[3] The power of

---

1. See, e.g., Daneau, Dialogue, D8.
2. Gifford, Dialogue, C2v.
3. ibid., Dv.

the devil most to be feared is that in the hearts of men, to blind the eyes of the mind, to inflame the lusts of man into wrath, envy and murder.[1]

Of course Gifford also affirms that the devil can work wonders, but the idea of the devil as the subtle instigator of sin is given a prominence side by side with that of the devil as the agent of witches. Scot took the idea of the devil as the promoter of wickedness even further. The devil's assaults are spiritual and not temporal. There are various interpretations of the word "spirit" in Scripture and sometimes it means the vices of the mind. The seven devils cast out of Mary Magdalene are to be interpreted as the great quantity of her vices. The meaning of "Satan" in Scripture is the power of wickedness.[2] Scot here is open to the accusation of Sadducism in that he denies that devils are spiritual substances. It is the moderate and orthodox view of the devil as the agent of wickedness expressed by Gifford that I would see as operative in the play. It is conjoined with a recognition of the social helplessness of the witch similar to that expressed by Scot in the Discoverie.

In I.i Frank Thorney tells Winnifride of the dangers of

> The misery of beggery and want;
> Two Devils that are occasions to enforce
> A shameful end.
> I.i.18-20

This is a sympathetic anticipation of the position of Mother Sawyer. It also suggests the idea of devils as emotions that may be experienced. Sir Arthur Clarington's reference to the nimble devil that wantoned in Frank Thorney's blood[3] is a similar metaphorical use of the language of demonology.

---

1. Dialogue, C2.
2. Discourse upon divels, xii, p.508; xiii, pp.509-510; xvi, p.515.
3. The Witch of Edmonton, I.i.78-79.

Clarington's reference to Win's attractions as a beguiling Art[1] also has echoes of the language of witchcraft. Win confesses to have been the devil who tempted Sir Arthur.[2] In I.i we have three characters who all deceive each other. Frank Thorney's promises of devotion to Win are shown to be deceptions by his avowal of willingness to marry Susan in I.ii. Win in her turn has deceived Frank with Sir Arthur, who in turn would be quite happy to continue his relationship with Win behind Thorney's back. This first scene, I suggest, demonstrates that deception and evil are not exclusively limited to the witch and demon in the play. In I.ii. Frank is accused by his father who has heard of his liaison with Win.

> O thou art a Villain!
> A Divil like a Man.
> I.ii.156-157

The operation of Moral and natural evil is couched in terms of the supernatural. Old Thorney's accusation that Frank "dissembles"[3] anticipates the depiction of the deceptive power of supernatural evil in the play.

When the witch finally makes her appearance on the stage, her first speech makes an immediate and direct appeal for sympathy in contrast to an ambivalent response to the deceiving and unscrupulous characters we have so far encountered.

> And why on me? why should the envious world
> Throw all their scandalous malice upon me?
> 'Cause I am poor, deform'd and ignorant,
> And like a Bow buckl'd and bent together,
> By some more strong in mischiefs then myself?
> Must I for that be made into a common sink,
> For all the filth and rubbish of Men's tongues
> To fall and run into? Some call me Witch;
> And beeing ignorant of my self, they go
> About to teach me how to be one: urging,
> That my bad tongue (by their bad usage made so)
> Forespeaks their Cattle, doth bewitch their Corn,
> Themselves, their Servants, and their Babes at nurse.

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, I.i.166-167.
2. ibid., I.i.218.
3. ibid., I.ii.180.

> Enter Old Banks.
> This they enforce upon me: and in part
> Make me to credit it.
> II.i.1-15

Now although some of the details here are taken from Goodcole's pamphlet,[1] the tenor of the speech inevitably recalls Scot's defence of old and ignorant women, Among the details not included in Goodcole's pamphlet are the adjective "deform'd" and the fact that the witch is almost persuaded that she does in fact do those things of which she is accused. These may be found in Scot.[2] Mother Sawyer's accusation that there are those more wicked than herself is confirmed by what we have seen in I.i. The fact that later in this scene Mother Sawyer does become a witch should not blind us to the fact that this speech coupled with Old Banks' behaviour is entirely in the spirit of Scot's scepticism.

When the devil appears it immediately dissembles.

> Dog. Come, do not fear, I love thee much too well
> To hurt or fright thee. If I seem terrible,
> It is to such as hate me. I have found
> Thy love unfeign'd; have seen and pitied
> Thy open wrongs, and come out of my love
> To give thee just revenge against thy foes.
> Sawy. May I believe thee?
> II.i.119-125

The witch, isolated and despised by society, is offered affection and sympathy. The witch's reaction is, I believe, not only a doubt that the devil will revenge her, but also a wistful hope that she has found a source of affection. A parallel is intended with Frank Thorney's promise to Win. Both promises of affection are mendacious. The devil immediately reveals that the affection of the demonic for the human is appetitive. The form of the Dog's assurance is ironic.

> The Devil is no lyer to such as he loves.
> Didst ever know or hear the Devil a lyer
> To such as he affects?
> I.ii.137-139

---

1. See above, p.108ff.
2. Discoverie, I.iii.

The agent of the Father of Lies is not to be believed, least of all on the subject of his own veracity. The pact is immediately seen to be a deceptive arrangement. The first thing that the witch demands is the death of Old Banks and the devil has to admit the limitations of his power.[1]

The relationship of Frank Thorney with his new wife echoes the nature of the arrangement between Mother Sawyer and Tom. Susan diagnoses Frank's disturbance as discontent. Has he deluded her with false love?[2] Some lines later she mentions his "cunning".[3] In Act III Cuddy Banks follows Mother Sawyer's instructions to win Katherine. Instead of Katherine, the powers of darkness provide an impersonating spirit.

> Spir. Thus throw I off mine own essential horror,
> And take the shape of a sweet lovely Maid
> Whom this fool doats on. We can meet his folly,
> But from his Vertues must be Run-aways.
> We'll sport with him: but when we reckoning call,
> We know where to receive: th'Witch pays for all.
> III.i.71-76

Cuddy has been deluded by the powers of darkness. Instead of producing the woman he desired, they have provided a counterfeit, an illusory appearance concealing horror. The illusion has been produced at the request of the witch who has herself been deceived. The Dog's conversation with Cuddy frankly reveals the devil's nature as a deceiver.

> Take heed how thou trustest the Devil another time.
> III.ii.102

The Dog also reveals that his relationship with the witch

---

1. See above, pp.112-113 for the possible influence of Gifford on the Dog's admission. The idea that a man may be materially immune from the power of the devil is rejected by the treatise-writers. See Gifford, Dialogue, D4; King James, Daemonologie, II.v, p.48; Perkins, Discourse, VII.iii, pp.222-226. However a more popular belief in the protecting power of faith against witchcraft may be found in John Philip, The examination and confession of certayne Wytches (1566), pp.47-48.
2. The Witch of Edmonton, II.ii.151.
3. ibid., II.ii.161.

is not the affectionate and devoted one for which she had hoped.

> I have work tonight. I serve more masters, more Dames than one.
> III.i.134-135

As well as reflecting on the impersonal nature of the relationship between the witch and the devil[1] the Dog's statement that he serves more than one Dame again recalls Frank Thorney's deception. He serves two ladies and one of them is convinced that he serves her alone. Again the deceptive nature of the spiritual being echoes that of the sinful man. In his defence of his second marriage to Win, his first wife, Frank again echoes the arrangement of the witch and the devil.

> When I was sold, I sold my self again
> (Some knaves have done't in Lands, and I in Body).
> III.ii.27-28

With this compare the Dog's demand to Mother Sawyer

> That uncompell'd thou make a deed of Gift
> Of Soul and Body to me.
> II.i.127-128

In the scene of the murder of Susan the nature of the operation of the devil is difficult to define precisely. The Dog announces at the beginning of III.iii,

> Now for an early mischief and a sudden:
> The minde's about it now. One touch from me
> Soon sets the body forward.
> III.iii.1-3

When Mother Sawyer was cursing and harbouring malicious thoughts against Old Banks the devil manifested itself and offered to be the instrument of revenge. When Frank is harbouring murderous thoughts against Susan the devil rubs himself against Frank and the latter's entertainment of the idea of murdering his wife hardens into determination. The demon's operation here, I would suggest, is immoral rather than supernatural. In the opinion of Gifford, it will be remembered, the

---

1. Cf. Gifford's statement that although the witch thinks that she deals with just one spirit, one spirit can seem four or five, and four or five can seem one. Dialogue, Cv.

power of the devil is in the hearts of men, and can inflame the passions even to the point of murder. The suggestion is that Frank is as vulnerable as the witch to the assaults of the Adversary of mankind.

In Act IV we see the apprehension of the witch. The countrymen are convinced that Mother Sawyer is the cause of their afflictions. We are entitled to reject this idea, I would suggest, on the evidence of Frank's murder of Susan. The evil desires of mankind are both prompted and encouraged by the devil. The First Countryman's wife and a serving-man were caught "thrashing" in the barn. Her excuse that she was bewitched[1] must be intended to be comically transparent. The Second Countryman is afraid that there might be an epidemic of infidelity caused by witchcraft.[2] The reductio ad absurdum of this method of excusing moral aberrations by recourse to witch-craft is Old Banks' compulsion to kiss his cow under the tail. As has been noted above, this incident is a borrowing from Gifford. As West notes, Gifford's character Daniel is bluntly sceptical about the attribution of this incident to witchcraft. Daniel thought of the man that

> He was farre in love with his cow. Let such men learne to know God, & to expel fantasies out of their mindes that the devill may not have power over them, for he worketh in the fantasies of a mans mind, and the more strongly where they fear him, as it appeareth this man did. Satan did worke in this mans minde many foolish imaginations, and to make him beleeve he was bewitched he maketh him fall out with one that may be suspected.
>
> Gifford, Dialogue, quoted West, The Invisible World, p.152

In the arraignment of Mother Sawyer before the Justice, the witch is eloquent in her own defence.

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, IV.i.5-9.
2. ibid., IV.i.10-11.

Admittedly, part of the witch's response is to defy and curse her accusers. The Goodcole pamphlet says that Elizabeth Sawyer responded to accusations with fearful imprecations. It also says that she could not speak one sensible word in her defence.[1] The dramatists have given Mother Sawyer effective speeches in her defence and in doing so have ignored the spirit of the pamphlet. Mother Sawyer's defence is to attack the moral corruptions of the world in terms of the language of witchcraft. The play has prepared the way for a sympathetic response to this defence, for it has shown that the devil's power is not solely resident in the hearts of witches. The witch states that women at Court are witches effecting a lustful _fascinatio_ and lechers' thoughts are _incubi_ sitting on women's breasts.

> What are your painted things in Princes Courts?
> Upon whose Eye-lids Lust sits blowing fires
> To burn Mens Souls in sensual hot desires:
> Upon whose naked Paps, a Leachers thought
> Acts Sin in fouler shapes than can be wrought.
> IV.i.103-107

Although the witch's accusations are specifically directed against Court life, it should be remembered that Win saw herself as a devil who tempted Sir Arthur Clarington to lust, and that the spirit in the shape of Katherine hid horror underneath loveliness, just as women at Court are painted. The wasteful prodigality of Lords who spend their substance and of merchants' wives who waste that of their husbands, are seen in terms of the supposed ability of witches to transform.[2] The corrupt lawyer is also a witch.

> The Man of Law
> Whose honeyed hopes the credulous Client draws,
> (As Bees by tinkling Basons) to swarm to him,
> From his own Hive, to work the Wax in his,
> He is no Witch, not he.
> IV.i.128-132

---

1. _Wonderfull Discoverie_, B.
2. _The Witch of Edmonton_, IV.i.109-117.

The metaphor of "work the Wax" inevitably recalls the practice of witches in making wax-images. The witch's most pointed accusation is that she has never tempted a maiden's chastity.[1] Sir Arthur Clarington is the sinful accusing the sinner.

In Act V the pathos of Elizabeth's relationship with her familiar may be perceived.

> O my best love!
> I am on fire, (even in the midst of Ice)
> Raking my blood up, till my shrunk knees feel
> Thy curl'd head leaning on them. Come then, my Darling,
> If in the Aire thou hover'st, fall upon me
> In some dark Cloud; and as I oft have seen
> Dragons and Serpents in the Elements,
> Appear thou now to me.
> V.i.9-16

Mother Sawyer has transformed the reality of the Dog's relationship with her, which is that of the devourer and the devoured, into a perverted vision of the amours of immortals with mortals. The transformation of the spirit into animal shapes suggests the amorous approaches of Jupiter in the Metamorphoses, with the picture of the devil hovering in the air and about to fall on the witch perhaps specifically suggesting the myth of Jupiter coming to Danae in a shower of gold. When the devil does appear in response to the witch's invocation it is to reveal that he has deceived her. He appears in white.

> Sawy. Am I near death?
> Dog. Yes, if the Dog of Hell be near thee.
> When the Devil comes to thee as a Lamb,[2]
> have at thy Throat.
> V.i.38-40

As well as being the colour of the winding-sheet, the black appearing as white is another image of the deceptive power of the devil. The witch realises

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, IV.i.138-141.
2. There was a Continental belief that the devil could not appear as a lamb because the animal was a symbol of Christ. On the animal appearances assumed by good and bad spirits, see Lavater, Of Ghostes, II.ii. The lamb is noted by Lavater as an appearance supposedly taken by good spirits.

the nature of the devil as a deceiver. She accuses him of "dissembling" and "lying".[1] The Dog's last words to the witch reveal the disinterested, mocking and deceptive nature of the demonic.

> Out Witch! Thy tryal is at hand!
> Our prey being had, the Devil does laughing stand.
> V.i.75-76

In the final exchange between the Dog and the Clown, the devil further reveals his deceptive and deluding powers. The dialogue is entirely in the spirit of Gifford's Dialogue. The witch can do nothing without the aid of the devil.[2] Devils can take the shape of small animals to "blind silly eyes".[3] The Dog affirms that sinful men are all vulnerable to the insidious immoral assaults of the devil.

> Thou never art so distant
> From an evil Spirit, but that thy Oaths,
> Curses and Blasphemies pull him to thine Elbow:
> Thou never telst a lie, but that a Devil
> Is within hearing it; thy evil purposes
> Are ever haunted; but when they come to act,
> As thy Tongue slaundering, bearing false witness,
> Thy hand stabbing, stealing, cozening, cheating,
> He's then within thee:
> V.i.127-135

At the end of the play, Frank and the witch, both seduced by the devil, are punished. Elizabeth realises the trickery of the devil in terms that are now familiar. The enemy of mankind is the great illusionist.

> There is no damned Conjurer like the Devil
> V.i.150

---

1. The Witch of Edmonton, V.i.44,49.
2. The Witch of Edmonton, V.i.98-100; Gifford, Dialogue, C3v-C4.
3. The Witch of Edmonton, V.i.115-116; Gifford, Dialogue, C4v.

Conclusion

This study of magic and witchcraft in poetry and drama has attempted to provide information in three ways. It has tried to identify precisely which sources were used by particular authors. It has also, by the application of particular texts, attempted to illuminate individual passages in the poetry and drama discussed. The study has also attempted an extended discussion, especially in the last chapter, of the more important plays making extensive use of magic and witchcraft. All these aspects of the thesis must speak for themselves. The method employed, that of looking for illumination mainly from printed sources, has, I believe, justified itself. Poets and dramatists have been observed to have made extensive and detailed use of works on magic and witchcraft. It has even been tentatively suggested that literary texts influenced ideas of magic to be found in the treatises. I have even begun to wonder, in the course of my reading of Dr Faustus and King James' Daemonologie, whether the King's treatise, especially in its discussion of scholar magicians, was influenced by a knowledge of the play. So far this can only be the most tentative of hypotheses and I am instantly aware of several possible objections. The King had obviously read Agrippa, who could account for much of his description of the ambitious curiosity of magicians and details of their practices. A fuller investigation of the sources of the Daemonologie would be needed before the hypothesis could be advanced more confidently.

Some general conclusions about the sources used by the poets and dramatists may be offered. One is the comparatively limited number of texts used. It has been suggested, for example, that Marlowe,

Greene, Barnes and Drayton all borrowed from the writings and pseudo-writings of Agrippa. This fact may be accounted for simply by the reason that the works of Agrippa were almost unique in what they offered, - detailed instructions for ceremonial magic in print. Magical manuscripts, the Books of Honorius and Clavicules of Solomon, of which my investigation has been admittedly limited, do not seem to have been well-known by the writers. The poets' and dramatists' knowledge of and familiarity with classical texts meant that they knew as a matter of course the loci classici in Ovid, Virgil, Lucan and others. The enormous popularity of Ovid, and especially of the Metamorphoses, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ensured that Medea and Circe were frequently models for the depiction of magicians and witches. As to the treatises in English, Scot's Discoverie, that extraordinary and encyclopaedic compendium of information, gathered by the most skeptical of sixteenth century English writers on witchcraft, was frequently used. Scot's intention in minutely itemizing the foolish beliefs of deluded men in profuse detail was obviously to provoke an hilarious astonishment that so many could believe such a quantity of superstitious minutiae. The details which Scot intended as comic catalogues were the very things for which dramatists were looking. Shakespeare seems to have found Scot's lively style congenial, just as he found congenial the prose of that other Democritus, Samuel Harsnet. Hotspur's scepticism about the abilities of Glendower in 1 Henry IV is essentially Scotian in its humorous deflation of the pompous pretension of the ceremonialist.

The poets and dramatists seem to have been attracted by two kinds of information in their sources. One is the details of magical operation and the doings of witches, hence the popularity of Agrippa and Scot.

The other is narratives of witchcraft as opposed to the complexities and subtleties of the theories of magic and witchcraft. Middleton found in Le Loyer the story of the love-charm in The Witch and Shakespeare borrowed from the narrative of the doings of the witches of Berwickshire in Newes from Scotland. The accounts of the witch-trials themselves also provided narratives of the activities of witches.

In the second part of the thesis I have examined plays and poems in groupings suggested by the frequency of the topics in the respective chapter headings. I am reluctant to make any general statements about this part of the thesis, apart from those made in the chapters themselves. One thing I wish to suggest is that the chronological approach, except in very general terms, may be suggested to be unrewarding. Poets and dramatists are borrowing, for example, from the same classical sources for the depiction of witches throughout the period. Middleton, when writing The Witch took details from a book published a few years before, a treatise on witchcraft printed in 1584 and an account of a trial of some thirty years ago. In the same way I am reluctant to look for a movement of increasing scepticism as my selected period comes to a close. In 1634 Milton's Comus was performed at Ludlow Castle, The Late Lancashire Witches was played on the London stage and John Ford's Perkin Warbeck was entered in the Stationers' Register. Milton's masque has as its main character, both literally and metaphorically, a descendant of Circe. The details of classical witchcraft are used with allegorical significance, as they were in the second book of The Faerie Queene. Heywood and Brome's play attributes to its witches abilities that may be found attributed to them in the fifteenth century manual, the Malleus Maleficarum. They can transform themselves into animals and inhibit a man's virility and travel across the country at enormous

speeds. In Perkin Warbeck the following lines occur at the end of the play,

> Thus witches,
> Possess'd, even to their deaths, deluded, say
> They have been wolves and dogs and sailed in egg-shells
> Over the sea ...
> Perkin Warbeck, ed. Peter Ure (1968), V.iii.104-107

In the same year as the Lancashire Witches were to be seen on the London stage attacking a soldier in the shapes of cats, a play containing an allusion to witchcraft as a delusion was entered in the Stationers' Register. The skepticism here is not to be accounted for by a gradual enlightenment as the seventeenth century moves on but because Ford had been reading a sixteenth century sceptic, Reginald Scot.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliographical Note. In the interest of conciseness I have only cited in the Bibliography those works to which reference is made in the text of my thesis. The Bibliography does not represent the full extent of my reading of magical works.

PRIMARY TEXTS: PRINTED

Agrippa, Henry Cornelius, Henrici Cor(nelii) Agrippae ab Nettesheym, De Occulta Philosophia Lib(ri) III. Item, Spurius Liber de Ceremoniis Magicis, qui Quartus Agrippae habetur. Quibus accesserunt, Heptameron Petri de Albano (Louvain [not dated]).

---Three Books of Occult Philosophy, written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa, trans. J.F(reake?) (1651).

---Henry Cornelius Agrippa His Fourth Book of Occult Philosophy. Of Geomancy. Magical Elements of Peter de Abano, trans. Robert Turner (1655).

---Henrie Cornelius Agrippa, of the Vanitie and uncertaintie of Artes and Sciences, translated James Sanford (1569).

Apuleius, Lucius, The Golden Ass, Loeb edition, Adlington's translation, revised by S. Gaselee (1909).

---The .xi. Bookes of the Golden Asse, Conteininge the Metamorphosie of Lucius Apuleius, translated William Adlington (1566).

Aquinas, Thomas, [De Potestate], On the Power of God, translated by the English Dominican Fathers, 2 vols. (1932-1933).

---S.Thomae Aquinatis, Doctoris Angelici, Summa Theologica, 6 vols. (Taurini, 1922).

Augustine, De Civitate Dei contra Paganos, with a translation by McCracken, Green, Wiesen, Levine, Sanford, Greene, 7 vols., Loeb edition (1957-1972).

---De Divinatione Daemonum Liber Unus, Patrologiae Latinae, edited J.P. Migne, Vol. 40 (Paris, 1845).

Bacon, Roger, The Mirror of Alchimy, ... Also a most excellent and learned discourse of ... Art and Nature (1597).

Bale, John, The Actes of Englysh votaryes, comprehendynge their unchast practyses and examples by all ages (1546)..

---The first two partes of the Actes or unchast examples of the Englysh votaryes (1548, 1551).

---The Dramatic Writings of John Bale, edited John S. Farmer (1907).

---The Pageant of Popes, Contayninge the lyves of all the Bishops of Rome (1574).

Barnes, Barnabe, The Devil's Charter, edited R.B. McKerrow in Bang's Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas (Louvain, 1904).

---The Poems of Barnabe Barnes, edited Alexander B. Grosart (1875).

Bartholomaeus, Anglicus, Batman uppon Bartholome, His Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum (1582).

Beaumont, Francis and Fletcher, John, The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon, general editor Fredson Bowers, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1966 and 1970).

[Bible], [Authorised Version], The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testament (Oxford, [not dated]).

---[Bishops' Bible], The holi bible (1559).

---[Geneva Bible], The Bible. That is, the Holy Scripture conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament (1576).

---[Vulgate], Biblia Sacra juxta Vulgatam Versionem, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1969).

The Boy of Bilson: or A True Discovery of the late notorious impostures of certaine Romish Priests (1622).

Bodin, Jean, De la Démonomanie des Sorciers (Paris, 1580).

Breton, Nicholas, The Works in Verse and Prose of Nicholas Breton, edited Alexander B. Grosart, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1879).

[Brigges, Agnes], The disclosing of a late counterfeyted possession by the devyl in two maydens within the Citie of London (1574).

Brocardo, Giacopo, The Revelation of S. Jhon reveled, trans. James Sanford (1582).

Browne, William, The Masque of the Inner Temple, edited R.F. Hill in A Book of Masques in Honour of Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge, 1967).

Bullinger, Heinrich, A Hundred Sermons Upon the Apocalipse of Jesu Christ, translated John Daws (1573).

Bunny, Francis, A Comparison betweene the auncient fayth of the Romans, and the new Romish Religion (1595).

Calvin, John, The holy Gospel of Jesus Christ, according to John, with the Commentary of M. John Calvin, trans. Christopher Fetherstone (1584).

Campion, Thomas, The Works of Thomas Campion, edited Walter R. Davies (1969).

Chapman, George, The Plays of George Chapman. The Comedies, general editor Allan Holaday (Urbana, 1970).

---The Poems of George Chapman, edited Phyllis Brooks Bartlett (New York, 1962).

---Bussy D'Ambois, edited Robert J. Lordi (1964).

Charke, William, An answere to a seditious pamphlet lately cast abroade by a Jesuite, with a discoverie of that blasphemous sect (1580).

Chaucer, Geoffrey, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, edited F.N. Robinson, 2nd edition (London, Oxford University Press, 1957).

[Chelmsford], The Apprehension and confession of three notorious Witches. Arreigned and by Justice condemned and executed at Chelmes-forde (1589).

[Chelmsford], A Detection of damnable driftes, practized by three Witches arraigned at Chelmisforde in Essex (1579).

Comes, Natalis, Natalis Comitis Mythologiae, sive explicationum fabularum libri decem (Venice, 1568).

Cooper, Thomas, A Brand taken out of the Fire. Or the Romish Spider, with his Webbe of Treason (1606).

---The Mystery of Witch-craft. Discovering the Truth, Nature, Occasions, Growth and Power therof (1617).

Cotta, John, A Short Discoverie of the Unobserved Dangers of severall sorts of ignorant and unconsiderate Practisers of Physicke in England (1612).

---The Triall of Witch-craft, shewing the true and right Methode of the Discovery (1616).

Coxe, Francis, A short treatise declaringe the detestable wickednesse, of magicall sciences (1561).

The Wars of Cyrus, edited J.P. Brawner, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 28 (Urbana, 1942).

Daneau, Lambert, A Dialogue of Witches, in foretime named Lot-tellers, and now commonly called Sorcerers (1575).

Dariot, Claude, A breefe and most easie Introduction to the Astrologicall judgement of the Starres, trans. Fabian Wither (1583).

Darrell, John, A Brief Apologie proving the possession of William Sommers (1599).

---A True Narration of the Strange and grievous vexation by the devil, of 7. persons in Lancashire (1600).

Dekker, Thomas, The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker, edited Fredson Bowers, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1953-1961).

---The Double PP. A Papist in Armes. Bearing ten severall Sheilds (1606).

The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll, edited M.N. Matron, Maldne Society Reprints (Oxford, 1965).

Donne, John, The Divine Poems of John Donne, edited Helen Gardner (Oxford, 1969).

---The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets, edited Helen Gardner (Oxford, 1965).

Dorcastor, Nicholas, The Doctrine of the Masse booke, co(n)cerning the making of holye Water (1554).

Drayton, Michael, The Works of Michael Drayton, 5 vols., vols. 1-4 edited J.W. Hebel, vol. 5 prepared by Kathleen Tillotson and Bernard Newdigate (Oxford, 1961).

England's Helicon, edited H.E. Rollins, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1935).

Fenton, Edward, Certaine Secrete wonders of Nature, containing a description of sundry strange things (1569).

[Flower, Margaret and Phillip], The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower, daughters of Joan Flower (1619).

Foxe, John, Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching the matters of the Church (1563).

Fulke, William, Praelections upon the Sacred and holy Revelation of S. John, trans. George Gifford (1573).

G(arter), B(ernard), A Newyeares Gifte, dedicated to the Popes Holinesse, and all Catholikes addicted to the Sea of Rome (1579).

Gerard, John, The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes (1597).

Gifford, George, A Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcraftes (1593).

---A Discourse of the subtill Practises of Devilles by Witches and Sorcerers (1587).

---Sermons upon the Whole Booke of the Revelation (1596).

Gifford, Humphrey, The Complete Poems and Translations in Prose, edited Alexander B. Grosart (Manchester, 1875).

Goodcole, Henry, The wonderfull discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer a Witch, late of Edmonton, her conviction and condemnation and Death (1621).

Grazzini, Antonfrancesco, La Spiritata Comedia d'Antonfrancesco Grazini, Academico Fiorentino, detto il Lasca (Venice, 1582).

Greene, Robert, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, edited Daniel Seltzer (1963).

Greene, Robert (?), John of Bordeaux Or The Second Part of Friar Bacon, edited W.L. Renwick, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford, 1936).

Grillandus, Paul, Tractatus Duo: Unus De Sortilegiis D. Pauli Grillandi Castellionis (Frankfurt, 1592).

Hall, Edward, The Union of the two noble and illustrate famelies of Lancastre & Yorke (1548).

Hall, Joseph, The Works of the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, edited Philip Wynter, 10 vols. (Oxford, 1863).

---The Collected Poems of Joseph Hall Bishop of Exeter and Norwich, edited A. Davenport (Liverpool, 1949).

Hanmer, Meredith, The Great bragge and challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite, com(m)onlye called Edmunde Campion (1581).

Harsnet, Samuel, A Declaration of egregious Popish Impostures, to with-draw the harts of her Majesties Subjects from their allegeance (1603).

Herrick, Robert, The Poems of Robert Herrick, edited L.C. Martin (1965).

Herring, Francis, Pietas Pontificia (1606).

---Popish Pietie, or The first part of the Historie of that horrible and barbarous conspiracie, Commonly called the Powder-treason, trans. A.P. (1610).

Heywood, Thomas, The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood, now first collected with illustrative notes and a memoir of the Authour, [by R.H. Shepherd], 6 vols. (1874).

---If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody Part I ed. Madeleine Doran, Malone Society Reprints (1935).

---If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody Part II, edited Madeleine Doran, Malone Society Reprints (1935).

Hill, Robert, Life everlasting: Or, The True Knowledge Of One Jehovah, Three Elohim, And Jesus Immanuel (Cambridge, 1601).

Hocus Pocus Junior. The Anatomie of Legerdemain. Or, the Art of Jugling set forth in his proper colours (1634).

Holland, Henry, A Treatise against Witchcraft: or A Dialogue wherein the greatest doubts concerning that sinne, are briefly answered (Cambridge, 1590).

[Homilies], Certayne Sermons appoynted by the Quenes Majestie, to be declared and read, by all Persones, Vycars, and Curates (1559).

Horace, The Odes and Epodes with a translation by C.E. Bennett, Loeb edition (1914).

Howard, Henry, A defensative against the poyson of supposed Prophesies: Not hitherto confuted by the penne of any man (1583).

Howell, Thomas, Poems, edited Alexander B. Grosart (Manchester, 1879).

Ingpen, William, The Secrets of Numbers; According to Theologicall, Arithmeticall, Geometricall and Harmonicall Computation (1624).

Jacquier, Nicholas, Flagellum Haereticorum Fascinarorum, Autore F. Nicolao Jaquerio (Frankfurt, 1581).

King James I, King James the First, Daemonologie, (1597), edited G.B. Harrison, Bodley Head Quartos, No. 9 (1929).

Jeffere, John (?), The Buggbears, edited R.W. Bond in Early Plays from the Italian (Oxford, 1911).

Jones, Robert, The Muses Gardin for Delights, Or the fift Booke of Ayres, onely for the Lute, the Base-Vyoll, and the Voyce (1610).

Jonson, Ben, Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques in The Yale Ben Jonson, general editors B. Kernan and Richard B. Young (Yale, 1969).

Jorden, Edward, A Briefe Discourse of a Disease called the Suffocation of the Mother (1603).

Kirchmeyer, Thomas, The Popish Kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist, trans. Barnabe Googe (1570).

Kramer, Heinrich, and Sprenger, James, Malleus Maleficarum, trans. Montagne Summers (1971).

Lavater, Ludwig, Of Ghostes and Spirites walkyng by nyght, edited J. Dover Wilson and May Yardley, Shakespeare Association (Oxford, 1929).

Linche, Richard, Poems by Richard Linche, Gentleman (1596), edited Alexander B. Grosart (1877).

Le Loyer, Pierre, A Treatise Of Specters Or straunge Sights, Visions and Apparitions, trans. Z. Jones (1605).

Lucan, De Bello Civili, with a translation by J.D. Duff, Loeb edition (1928).

Lyly, John, The Complete Works of John Lyly, edited R.W. Bond, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1902).

Marlorat, M. Augustine, A Catholike exposition upon the Revelation of Sainct John, trans. Arthur Golding, (1574).

Marlowe, Christopher, The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe, edited F. Bowers, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1973).

---Marlowe. Tragical History of Dr. Faustus, edited A.W. Ward, 4th edition (Oxford, 1901).

---Marlowe's Dr Faustus 1604-1616. Parallel texts, edited W.W. Greg (Oxford, 1968).

von Marnix, Philips, The Bee hive of the Romishe Churche, trans. George Gilpin (1579).

Marston, John, The Works of John Marston, edited A.H. Bullen, 3 vols. (1887).

---The Malcontent, edited M.L. Wine (1965).

Mason, James, The Anatomie of Sorcerie. Wherein the wicked Impietie of Charmers, Inchanters, and such like, is discovered and confuted (1612).

Mengus, Hieronymus, Flagellum Daemonum, seu Exorcismi terribiles, Potentissimi, et Efficaces (Bologna, 1582).

---Fuga Daemonum, Adjurationes, Potentissimas, Et Exorcismos formidabiles (Venice, 1596).

---Fustis Daemonum, Adjurationes, Formidabiles, & potentissimas, in malignos spiritus fugandos (Venice, 1597).

Middleton, Thomas, The Works of Thomas Middleton, edited A.H. Bullen, 8 vols. (1885-1886).

---A Game at Chess, edited J.W. Harper (1966).

---A Mad World, My Masters, edited Standish Henning (1965).

---The Witch, edited W.W. Greg, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford, 1950).

Milton, John, Complete Shorter Poems, edited John Carey (1971).

Misogonus, edited R.W. Bond in Early Plays from the Italian (Oxford, 1911).

More, George, A true Discourse concerning the certaine possession and dispossessio(n) of 7 persons in one familie in Lancashire (1600).

Munday, Anthony, The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon, ed. John C. Meagher, Malone Society Reprints (1967).

---The English Romayne Lyfe. Discovering: The lives of the Englishmen at Rome (1582).

---Fidele and Fortunio The Two Italian Gentlemen, edited Percy Simpson, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford, 1909).

Nashe, Thomas, The Works of Thomas Nashe, edited R.B. McKerrow, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1958).

New Custom in A Select Collection of Old English Plays originally published by Robert Dodsley 4th edition, edited W.C. Hazlitt (1874).

Newes from Scotland declaring the Damnable Life and death of Doctor Fian, edited G.B. Harrison, Bodley Head Quartos, No. 9 (1929).

Nichols, John, The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth, 3 vols. (1823).

Nicolaus de Lyra, Postillia super totam Bibliam (Strasburg, 1492) (facsimile, Frankfurt, 1971).

van der Noodt, Jan Baptista, A Theatre, wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamaties that follow the voluptuous Worldlings, trans. from the French by T. Roest (1569).

[Nyndge, Alexander], A Booke Declaringe the Fearfull Vexasion, of one Alexander Nyndge. Beynge moste Horriblye tormented wyth an evyll Spirit (1578?).

Ovid, Heroides and Amores, with a translation by G. Showerman, Loeb edition (1914).

---Metamorphoses, with a translation by F.J. Miller, 2 vols., Loeb edition (1916).

---Ovid's Metamorphoses. The Arthur Golding Translation. 1567, edited John Frederick Nims (New York, 1965).

---Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished, Mythologiz'd, And Represented in Figures, trans. George Sandys (Oxford, 1632).

P(ricket), R(obert), The Jesuits Miracles, or new Popish Wonders. Containing the Straw, the Crowne, and the Wondrous Child (1607).

Pasqualigo, Luigi, Il Fedele Comedia Del Clarissimo M. Luigi Pasqualigo (Venice, 1579).

Peele, George, The Life and Works of George Peele, general editor Charles Tyler Prouty, 3 vols. (Yale, 1952-1970).

Peele, George (?), The Comedy of George a Green, edited F.W. Clarke, Malone Society Reprints (1911).

Perkins, William, A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft; so farre forth as it is revealed in the Scriptures (Cambridge, 1608).

Petrus Comestor, Petrus Comestoris Historia Scholastica, Sermone, Patrologiae Latinae, edited J.P. Migne, Vol. 198 (Paris, 1855).

Philip, John, The Examination and confession of certaine Wytches at Chensforde in the Countie of Essex, reprinted in Miscellanies of the Philobiblon Society, Vol. 8 (1863-1864).

Pliny, Natural History, with translations by Rackham, Jones and Eichholz, 10 vols., Loeb edition (1938-1962).

Potts, Thomas, The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster. With the Arraignement and Triall (1613).

Ripley, George, The Compound of Alchymy. The ancient hidden Art of Archemie: Conteining the right and perfectest meanes to make the Philosophers Stone (1591).

Roberts, Alexander, A Treatise of Witchcraft. Wherein sundry Propositions are laid downe, plainely discovering the wickednesse of that damnable Art (1616).

Rowlands, Samuel, The Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, 3 vols., printed for the Hunterian Club, (Glasgow, 1880).

Sacrarum Cerimoniarum, sive Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Libri Tres (Rome, 1560).

Scheible, Johann, Das Kloster. Weltlich und geistlich. 12 vols. (Stuttgart, 1845-1849).

Scot, Reginald, The discoverie of witchcraft, Wherein the lewde dealing of witches and witchmongers is notablie detected ... Heereunto is added the treatise upon the nature and substaunce of spirits and divels (1584).

Seneca, Seneca's Tragedies, with an English translation by F.J. Miller, 2 vols., Loeb edition (1917).

---Studley's Translation of Seneca's Agamemnon and Medea, edited E.M. Spearing in W. Bang, Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas (Louvain, 1913).

Shakespeare, William, The Complete Works, edited Peter Alexander (1968).

---The Tempest, edited F. Kermode (1970).

---Twelfth Night, edited M.M. Mahood (1968).

Sidney, Philip, The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney, edited W.A. Ringler (Oxford, 1962).

Spenser, Edmund, The Works of Edmund Spenser. A Variorum Edition, edited Edwin Greenlaw, Charles Grosvenor Osgood and Frederick Morgan Padelford, 10 vols. (Baltimore, 1932-1949).

Swan, John, A True and Breife Report, of Mary Glovers Vexation, and of her deliverance by the meanes of fastinge and prayer (1603).

Tacitus, Dialogues, with a translation by W.P. and M. Hutton, Loeb edition (1914).

---The Histories, with a translation by C.H. Moore and J. Jackson, 4 vols., Loeb edition (1925-1937).

Thoms, William J. (ed.), Early English Prose Romances, 3 vols., 2nd edition (1858).

Traheron, Bartholomew, A Warning to England to repente, and to turne to god from idolatrie and poperie (Wesel?, 1558).

Vairo, Leonardo, De Fascino Libri Tres, Auctore Leonardo Vairo Beneventano Ordinis S. Benedicti Canonici Regularis (Venice, 1589).

Virgil, Works, with a translation by R. Fairclough, 2 vols., Loeb edition (1918-1920).

---The Bucoliks of Publius Virgilius Maro, Prince of All Latine Poets, trans. Abraham Fleming (1589).

W., W., A true and just Recorde, of the Information, Examination and Confession of all the Witches, taken at S. Oses in the countie of Essex (1582).

Wager, William, The Longer thou Livest, edited R. Mark Benbow (1968).

[Walsh, John], The Examination of John Walsh, before Maister Thomas Williams, ... upon certayne Interrogatories touchyng Wytchcrafte and Sorcerye (1566).

[Warboys], The most strange and admirable discoverie of the three Witches of Warboys, arraigned, convicted, and executed at the last Assises (1593).

Webster, John, (the dramatist), The Duchess of Malfi, edited J.R. Brown (1972).

Webster, John, The Displaying Of Supposed Witchcraft. Wherein is affirmed that there are many sorts of Deceivers and Impostors (1677).

Wier, Johann, Joannis Wieri De Praestigiis Daemonum, et incantationibus ac veneficiis, Libri IV. Tertia Editione aucti (Basle, 1566).

Wilbye, John, First Set of Madrigals, edited E.H. Fellowes, revised Thurston Dart [not dated].

Willobie his Avisa, edited G.B. Harrison, Bodley Head Quartos, No. 15 (1926).

Woodes, Nathaniel, An excellent new commedie, intituled The Conflict of Conscience (1581).

Worsop, Edward, A Discoverie of sundrie errours and faults daily committed by Landmeaters (1582).

PRIMARY TEXTS: MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH LIBRARY

Additional	36674
Harleian	2267
Harleian	6854
Royal	17.A.XLII
Sloane	738
Sloane	3846
Sloane	3851

SECONDARY SOURCES

Allen, D.C., "Arthur's Diamond Shield", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 36.(1937), pp.234-243.

---Mysteriously Meant. The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance (Baltimore, 1970).

Anglo, Sydney, Spectacle Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford, 1969).

Assarsson-Rizzi, Kerstin, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. A Structural and Thematic Analysis of Robert Greene's Play, Lund Studies in English, 44 (Lund, 1972).

Axelrad, A. José, Un Malcontent Élizabéthain: John Marston (1576-1634), (Paris, 1955).

Baldwin, T.W., William Shakespeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke, 2 vols. (Urbana, 1944).

Barb, A.A., "The Survival of the Magic Arts", The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century, edited A. Momigliano (Oxford, 1963), pp.100-125.

Barber, C.L., "The Form of Faustus' Fortunes Good or Bad", Shakespeare's Contemporaries, edited Max Bluestone and Norman Rabkin (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970), pp.91-111.

Belden, H.M., "Two Spenser Notes", Modern Language Review, 44 (1929), pp.526-531.

Bennett, Josephine Waters, The Evolution of The Faerie Queene (Illinois, 1942).

Bossy, John, "The English Catholic Community 1603-1625", The Reign of James VI and I, edited Alan G.R. Smith (1973), pp.91-105.

Briggs, K.M., Pale Hecate's Team (1962).

Bullough, Geoffrey, Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, 8 vols. (1957-1975).

Campbell, Lily B., Shakespeare's Histories Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy (1964).

Caraman, Philip, Henry Garnet 1555-1606 and the Gunpowder Plot (1964).

Christ, Karl, Quellenstudien zu den Dramen Thomas Middletons (Leipzig, 1905).

Cohn, Norman, Europe's Inner Demons. An Enquiry inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt. (1975).

Craig, Hardin, "Magic in The Tempest", Philogical Quarterly, 47 (1968), pp.8-15.

Curry, W.C., Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns (Baton Rouge, 1937).

Dodson, D.B., "Allusions to the Gunpowder Plot in Dekker's Whore of Babylon", Notes and Queries, July-August 1959, p.257.

Elton, G.R., England under the Tudors, 2nd edition (1974).

Ewbank, Inga-Stina, "The Fiend-like Queen", Shakespeare Survey, 19 (1966), pp.82-92.

Ewen, C. L'Estrange, Witchcraft and Demonianism. A Concise Account derived from sworn depositions and confessions obtained in the Courts of England and Wales (1933).

---Witchcraft in the Star Chamber (1938).

---Witch Hunting and Witch Trials. The Indictments for Witchcraft from the Records of 1373 Assizes held for the Home Circuit A.D.1559-1736 (1929).

Ferguson, John, Bibliographical Notes on the Treatises De Occulta Philosophia and De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum of Cornelius Agrippa (Edinburgh, 1924).

George, David, "The Problems of Middleton's The Witch and its Sources", Notes and Queries, June 1967, pp.726-730.

Greg, W.W., "The Damnation of Faustus", Marlowe. Doctor Faustus. A Casebook, edited John Jump (1969), pp.71-88.

Haller, William, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (1963).

Harlow, C.G., "The Authorship of 1 Henry VI", Studies in English Literature 1500-1900, 5 (1965), pp.269-281.

Hankins, John Erskine, Source and Meaning in Spenser's Allegory. A Study of The Faerie Queene (Oxford, 1971).

Harrison, G.B., A Second Elizabethan Journal. Being a record of those things most talked of during the years 1595-1598 (1931).

Hill, Christopher, Antichrist in Seventeenth Century England (Oxford, 1971).

Howarth, R.G.,"Dipsas in Lyly and Marston", Notes and Queries, July 1938, pp.24-25.

Hughes, M.Y., "Spenser's Acrasia and the Circe of the Renaissance", Journal of the History of Ideas, 4 (1943), pp.381-399.

Hughes, Robert, Heaven and Hell in Western Art (1968).

Hunter, G.K., John Lyly. The Humanist as Courtier (1962).

Johansson, Bertil, Religion and Superstition in the Plays of Ben Jonson and Thomas Middleton, Essays and Studies in English Language and Literature, No. 7 (Upsala, 1950).

Jones-Davies, Marie-Thérèse, Un Peintre de la vie londinienne. Thomas Dekker, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958).

Jorgensen, P.A., Our Naked Frailties. Sensational Art and Meaning in Macbeth (University of California, 1971).

Kittredge, George L., Witchcraft in Old and New England (Cambridge, Mass., 1929).

Kocher, Paul H., Christopher Marlowe. A Study of his Thought, Learning and Character (Chapel Hill, 1946).

Koszul, A., "Ariel", English Studies, 19 (1937), pp.200-204.

Latham, Jacqueline E.M., "The Tempest and King James's Daemonologie" Shakespeare Survey, 28 (1975), pp.117-123.

Lea, Henry Charles, Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft, arranged and edited Arthur C. Howland (New York, 1957). 3 vols.

Levin, Harry, Christopher Marlowe. The Overreacher (1961).

Lewis, C.S., English Literature in the Sixteenth Century excluding Drama (Oxford, 1954).

Lotspeich, H.G., Classical Mythology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser (Princeton, 1932).

Macfarlane, Alan, Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England. A regional and comparative study (1970).

Merchant, W. Moelwyn, "Marlowe the orthodox", Christopher Marlowe, edited Brian Morris (1968), pp.179-192.

Miller, John, Popery and Politics in England 1660-1688 (Cambridge, 1973).

Muir, Kenneth, "Image and Symbol in Macbeth", Shakespeare Survey, 19 (1966), pp.45-54.

---"Samuel Harsnett and King Lear", Review of English Studies, new series, 2 (1951), pp.11-21.

---Shakespeare's Sources. The Comedies and Tragedies (1957).

McCallum, James D., "Greene's Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay", Modern Language Notes, 35 (1920), pp.212-217.

McKerrow, R.B., and Ferguson, F.S., Title-page Borders in England & Scotland 1485-1640 (1932).

Nauert, Charles G. Jnr., Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought (Urbana, 1965).

Neale, J.E., Essays in Elizabethan History (1958).

---Queen Elizabeth I (1960).

Newdigate, Bernard, Michael Drayton and his Circle (Oxford, 1961).

Nuttall, A.D., Two Concepts of Allegory. A Study of Shakespeare's The Tempest and the Logic of Allegorical Expression (1967).

Palmer, D.J., "Magic and Poetry in Dr Faustus" Marlowe. Doctor Faustus. A Casebook, edited John D. Jump, pp.188-203.

Palmer, P.M., and More, R.P., The Sources of the Faust Tradition from Simon Magus to Lessing (New York, 1936).

Parr, Johnstone, Tamburlaine's Malady and other essays on Astrological thought in Elizabethan Drama (Alabama, 1953).

Paul, H.N., The Royal Play of Macbeth. When, why and how it was written by Shakespeare (New York, 1950).

Rickert, Corinne, The Case of John Darrell Minister and Exorcist, University of Florida Monographs, No. 9 (Florida, 1962).

Ricks, Beatrice, "Catholic Sacramentals and Symbolism in Spenser's The Faerie Queene", Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 52 (1953), pp.322-331.

Reed, R.R., The Occult on the Tudor and Stuart Stage (Boston, 1965).

Rodini, Robert J., Antonfrancesco Grazzini, Poet Dramatist and Novelliere 1503-1584 (University of Wisconsin, 1970).

Rosen, Barbara, Witchcraft, The Stratford-upon-Avon Library, 6 (1969).

Russell, Jeffrey Burton, Witchcraft in the Middle Ages (Cornell, 1972).

Sanders, Wilbur, The Dramatist and the Received Idea. Studies in the plays of Marlowe & Shakespeare (Cambridge, 1968).

Schoell, Franck L., Études sur l'Humanisme Continental en Angleterre a la fin de la Renaissance (Paris, 1926).

Seaton, Ethel, "Marlowe's Light Reading", Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies presented to F.P. Wilson, pp.17-35.

Shumaker, Wayne, The Occult Sciences in the Renaissance (University of California, 1972).

Simmons, J.L., "A Source for Shakespeare's Malvolio: The Elizabethan controversy with the Puritans", Huntingdon Library Quarterly, 36 (1973), pp.181-201.

Starnes, D.T., and Talbert, E.W., Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries. A study of Renaissance Dictionaries in their relation to the classical learning of contemporary English writers (Chapel Hill, 1955).

Thomas, Keith, Religion and the Decline of Magic. Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England (1971).

Thorndike, Lynn, A History of Magic and Experimental Science, 8 vols. (New York, 1923-1958).

Walker, D.P., Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella (1958).

Waters, D.. Douglas, Duessa as Theological Satire (University of Missouri, Columbia, 1970).

West, Robert H., "Ceremonial Magic in The Tempest", Shakespearean Essays, edited Alwin Thaler and Norman Sanders (Knoxville, 1964), pp.63-78.

---The Invisible World. A Study of Pneumatology in Elizabethan Drama (Athens, Georgia, 1939).

---"Night's Black Agents in Macbeth", Renaissance Papers (1956), pp.17-24.

Wiener, Carol Z., "The Beleaguered Isle. A Study of Elizabethan and early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism", Past and Present, 51 (1971), pp.27-62.

Yates, F.A., Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (1971).

---Shakespeare's Last Plays. A New Approach (1975).